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26 February 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming,

With the most abject and embarrassed apology, I feel at last compelled to send you the enclosed materials on the Tennessee suffrage study of last summer. They have been on my desk in this state since my last communication with your office through Miss Price--at a point when illness and over-fatigue interrupted the report's completion, and I have been pressed continually to catch up and keep going ever since. Because of our limited budget, I have taken the liberty of one unpardonable in single-spacing the manuscript, on the one hand, and of typing it myself from the draft which only I could transcribe, on the other. When I "went under", therefore, there was nothing but the hope, from week to week, that I should be able to return to the job, since I could not transfer it, and that moment has just come.

Ideally, of course, I have considered that with the extent of the delay already, I would withhold the remaining data until the completed report could now be sent. This will be the first week that I am relieved of all duties at the college, since I am not teaching this term, and I have just been able to settle down to a new assignment which is the first I have had this year with no immediate deadline pressures. I expect fully, then, to ~~be able~~ be able to terminate this responsibility formally, as I have perceived it, within the coming week, but it has occurred to me that, in any case, you should be informed currently of this intention--with even the incompleted sections on hand as some instance of good faith. As you can see, the enclosed material is on section (D), and has not been typed in sequence, so that the pagination is here rendered accordingly; (I shall attempt to clarify this when the last batch comes next week). Section (E) has been typed similarly in part, but rather than to compound the confusion, I shall retain it for the last mailing.

Meanwhile, I am left with only the reiteration of my sorrow over the unhappy outcome of such a rewarding experience, and gratitude for a charity of judgment which has apparently been extended unduly.

Sincerely,

manet fowler

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(Tennessee)

D. CONDITIONING FACTORS AFFECTING STATUS OF THE NEGRO VOTE:

THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY.

I. URBAN/RURAL PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS AND VOTING

When the cry of "apathy" is repeatedly heard, to characterize the status of the Negro vote generally in Tennessee, the reference is primarily to the urban areas. In this state where, as in all others in the South according to Jackson, most Negroes live in their rural neighborhoods or farming communities, there is still a relatively high percentage who reside in the cities of the major regions. In rank order among the twelve southern states covered in Jackson's report, it will be recalled, in 1947 Tennessee was sixth in its percentage of Negro urban dwellers--35, in relationship to the highest, for Florida, 55, and the lowest, which was 20, for Mississippi.

In the rural communities, as in the cities in this state, it is said, the majority of the Negro population is free to vote--outside of Haywood, Hardaman, and Fayette counties, of course--but "freedom" in itself is granted in the sense of a captive flock, carefully guided as a marching herd. Beyond the areas of real or veiled threats of intimidation, it is not participation in the vote which is the concern of some onlookers here, but, as in the case of Stewartville, and the communities outside of Memphis--participation "how"?

As a matter of fact, the complaint which is identified with the rural voters' behavior attaches itself also to that of the "mass" (as against the presumably "class") Negro vote in the cities. Where the rural vote is said to be "captive" in terms of responses to the will of white plantation-owners, who supplement their vicarious bids with personal and community favors, and the festivity of free transportation, food, and drink at the places of "politicking", so is the "mass" vote said to be "bought" in the cities, through similar means. But the "class" and "leadership" Negro population? It is here that there is the "unpardonable lethargy", in the main--in the main, but not entirely, for there are exceptions among the cities (Memphis, in particular), just as there are variations in participation within them.

Cities of the Regions

(a) Middle Tennessee: Nashville. "A City of Generals".

Let us look first at Nashville. "The trouble here," one local Negro leader said, "is that we are a city of generals. Nobody wants to follow, everybody wants to lead, and those who can't be 'Mr. President' or 'Madame Chairman' after a while just fold up and refuse to do anything at all." This is one explanation for upper class "apathy"--that competition for status positions in an area where these must be limited on the political scene necessarily restricts the numbers of trained Negroes who are active in ~~activities~~ affecting the vote. The reverse then becomes also true: ~~Where there are the~~ "interested few"--and these, too, were mentioned repeatedly--they are all too apt to become, ~~in time,~~ the "disillusioned ones"--the people who have willingly assumed leadership, who have worked diligently in community affairs, who begin to feel that they alone are "carrying the load" without due appreciation for the responsibilities entailed, and who thereafter withdraw into a more retiring position, or "complacency", or, in extreme cases, complete inactivity. ~~In such an~~ instance, for example, one woman civic worker, whose diligence and devotion were marked during the past year's registration campaign to increase the Negro vote in Nashville commented,

> "Well, I'm telling you, I'm about to think that this is my last year. It is true that my husband and I have no children, and he is a professionally employed man, so that I don't have to work. As a matter of truth, I'd like to do something besides stay at home, for I was teaching before I married, but my husband made me promise to give it up, even though I am a college graduate; and he's never changed; he doesn't want me to work. There's a great deal that I do in the community, then, besides attend to my household, for I really think it's a kind of responsibility. But, do you know? If I try to get my friends to help in activities like getting out the vote, they simply won't do it--only a few. They may ring a few doorbells--next door or so, among their own neighbors--or phone a few people among the friends they have already, but that's the end of it, their time is just *too valuable* (Laughs)! They are "status women and men," and they can't afford to make a "mistake." They have their Bridge and their Garden Clubs--and you see them, they just "sit there 'mum'--never talk about anything that stirs their sense of loyalty to the community--they just don't think it's *appropriate* to want to do anything, I know. Why, I don't even dare to bring up what a happy situation it would be if some of them would be interested in our own community projects any more, at such club meetings, for community work--that's 'tabu.' They don't want to talk about it, the two aren't compatible, they say--such subjects and '*social life*.' 'We're here for *fun*,' they say, and they don't want the 'fun' interrupted. There's the feeling they give me, '*You* have more time than I', but they never refuse a bridge invitation; still they can't go out and ask somebody to vote. They don't see it as a dual responsibility, to live their own lives and yet try to elect a president. Their thoughts are on how to get to Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco--those are the cities--and the states--New York, California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois--in which they're interested, wherever there's the next big social event: Not the South, and Tennessee or Nashville, and elections affecting these little *local* places... . That should be our next most important step--to try to get these people to see the overall influence of what we do here on the total picture, and the margin of choice..., but I hear it all the time, 'You have more time than I', and I'm getting tired... ."

In other cases, the sentiments were not as fulXXXXly rendered, but they were comparable in their implication that, as another interviewee put it, "arousing interest in the upper class Negro in Nashville is of utmost significance in our use of the ballot as a weapon. Most of these people have a false sense of security coming from the very fact that Nashville is a university town, and there is some degree of sureness about the job at least for the contracted year, and the professional men and their wives always feel that they can take their jobs with them wherever they go and make a good start. But our young people, for example, need to know from *them* that it is only the vote that brings new schools, brings results in a Housing Study by the City Council, or new projects, through the pressure of people who vote and pay taxes. Somehow we've got to influence them to see this, bring it to their consciousness... ." "Tired" workers were those who felt themselves alone, and they were also those who disagreed so strongly on policies within groups to which they had been attached that they were moved to withdraw from civic life entirely: These were days in Nashville XXXX when, during the course of this study, individual leaders were said to have become "lethargic and resistant" in some cases because they were in disagreement with some tactics of programming for civil rights through the NAACP--in conflict with those leaders who were persistent in following through with less than "moderation" or "educational" measures to achieve its goals. They were XXXX days in which not only were such "liberals" split on some issues, though not on all, but in which the question of just who the leaders were remained a moot point: A beauty parlor operator put it,

> "Nashville is not the kind of town where you can say 'So and So is the Negro Leader.' There's all kinds of leaders here, and they're all leaders in their own way. You take the business people--well, they'll have their leader. And then, the church people--each church will follow its own pastor, and each denomination will get together on some things, not on others. Then, naturally, the university and professional people, they'll get together, but the A&I people may differ from the Fisk and Meharry people. I suppose if there's any one person most people would pick out for a general leader, it would be Mr. Looby, as far as politics is concerned, just because he's the most outstanding lawyer and in the Council. He's in the NAACP, and they will have their crowd, but if you ask me, as far as getting out the vote is concerned, the leaders are these numbers bankers. They do more really than anybody in town if the truth be known. People vote, you might as well know, if they want protection from the politicians against breaking up these gambling houses. Everybody in Nashville plays something, and they play every day. Numbers people see more people regularly in Nashville than anybody, and they can always pass the word along to vote and who to vote for. They say vote for So and So, and you know that's the one they've got the right promises from, and the people go and do it. So, as far as voting goes, these numbers people are real leaders, if you ask me, but everybody in Nashville may tell you somebody different."

Other Negroes who were frequently mentioned as "leaders" by both Negroes and Whites were "Mr. Day" (M. W.), president of the NAACP, or "Rev. Kelly Miller Smith" of the Ministerial Alliance, or Dr. Chas. S. Johnson of Fisk (sometimes with a demurrer, 'But he travels a great deal..., as far as Nashville is concerned'), or Dr. W. L. Davis, president of A&I ("But he doesn't have anything to do with politics..."), but the general observation was always restricted to a particular area for a random list. Always, "it all depends": Now, for the "League of Women Voters, there's Mrs. Valien--or Mrs. Roberts--or Dr. Inez Adams..., as for the United Church Women, there's Mrs. Chas. S. Johnson? Or for the YWCA, Mrs. Carrie Hull, or the NAACP among women, Mrs. Mildred Freeman, or Mrs. Grimmett--her husband's president of the state NAACP, Rev. Grimmett..., it all depends... ." Generally, within various groups, it was said, there were the few persons who worked continuously despite the "lethargy" otherwise of the whole: The distinction was frequently marked that "Out at A&I, for instance, you don't find many teachers who are active in politics--because it's a state school, and it seems like they're afraid--but there's Dr. Elsie Lewis..., in civic life, ~~and~~ Benson Dutton..."--and, one white informant added, "there's a Dr. Merl Eppse..., who seems to have created a very good impression among our people... ." At Fisk, Mrs. Bonita Valien was noted, along with her husband, Dr. Preston Valien, as being among the "real workers...who's not afraid to speak up", Dr. Vivien Henderson, and Dr. Herman Long, as other active and dependable social scientists who helped to spark community registration-interest. And, at Meharry, there was "Dr. Joel Brothers"--who, however, seemed to be "a fine man, young--but not as active now as he used to be..., for some reason... ." In politics directly, there were "ward-workers" and numerous "political appointees," and, for the Republicans, Roscoe Conkling Grant--who also mentioned a Negro woman, Mrs. Marie Mayberry, as being influential in that party locally; among the Democrats, however, no one was able to mention a "Negro leader" among women or men in any sense that could be termed primarily "political."

Politics, as such, indeed, to most of the "upper class" seemed to smack in Nashville of being a "lower class" rather than a citizenship preoccupation in too many instances, interviewees complained. A "professional politician" was a "bought" leader, in many views, just as the voters whom he solicited were felt to be thus "captured." Beyond the sense of personal competence for leadership, in competition with a limited field, or the rejection of further activity which has come through discouraging individual experiences, it would seem that many Negroes here were also "apathetic" because they did not want to be associated in the public mind with what they assumed to be a "dirty" interest. That this impression was not limited to colored citizens is shown by comments from a White political leader,

> "Now...I don't want you to think that I know anything from personal experience. I've had very little contact with the Negro politicians here, but I work with a number of people who do know them, and I will tell you this. It is my impression that the political leaders just can't be anybody, but they're people who control separate wards for an amount of money, and some are interested in the money--not the issues or anything else, and they will haul people to the polls. Of course you know about Mr. Looby--one of the best-trained members of the Nashville bar--a very fine gentleman, but not much of a politician. I hear the politician in the Council is a man named Bob Lillard--he came up through this city, is a practical member of the bar... . Then there're these gentlemen of the universities--Dr. Davis and Dr. Johnson, and, I think, a dentist, Dr. Walker--our whole situation here will help to influence political activity, but at the right time I think the real interest throughout comes from one or two people... .
>
> "When there's a great need, there are Negro leaders who will do just what I said--take as much as the traffic will stand--maybe several thousand dollars. In a sheriff's campaign a few years ago a great deal of money was passed, and that side lost. They tell me this year one of these Negro politicians came to our headquarters and said that he could deliver for sure a certain number of votes for a certain number of dollars... . I don't know if they have a great deal of influence, these people--and sometimes a white political leader will do it too, you understand, out of that standpoint that they can control jobs. With the Negroes it takes other forms, but it all evens up. No matter who does it, it affects the city voting situation. It's not as important county-wide as city-wide, but sometimes they can swing a city election if they can get them all to go the same way... ." (Grins)

Whatever the reasons, in this city that is the "Athens of the South," there is little doubt but that status-associations are important in the resistance of many "upper class" Negroes to political participation--including the most elementary levels of registration and voting. In a community, indeed, in which "class" lines between "intellectual" and "professional" Negroes are clearly drawn, and cut across socially even the resistances of the "permanent" citizens of the "upper class" to the "peculiar" temporary residents, or strangers, behavior which is shared by all the population may become in itself "common" and thus unpalatable, or intolerable for emulation. The exceptions in "class" political leadership generally arise in the running of some few Negro candidates for important municipal offices--those who are selected for candidacy, either through community or more formal political endorsement, are presumed therefore to be worthy of notice, and those who are self-motivated to run,have generally established a place sufficiently secure as to warrant attention ~~to them~~ as personalities being "Negro", running against Whites--with this alone, or some other factors, as a justifiable reason, or issue, for the emergence.

It was felt to be "a good thing," therefore, that John Otey, a Negro grocer of a "good local family" would choose to run for Councilman, in the run-off~~XXX~~ election to re-place the White councilman who had suddenly died, in the 5th Ward, 2nd District. It was also felt by onlookers to be a challenge to this ward, which was said to have a "better intellectual standard" in its Negro residents--mainly "middle class" and A&I teachers and students--than in the adjacent Whites. Here, in this "middle class", the status-feelings in relationship to the Whites made voting a test of racial as well as civic pride. One interviewee said,

> "The higher brackets--they all respond to this status-thing. Everywhere here--and it's the same with the Whites--we are very conscious about this around here, more than any other place. Any person resents being pressed or pushed down, and interested people among the Whites resent the possibility of having a Negro who might win, and thus be 'over' them. The Whites here in this Ward were very poor--but the majority were coming to the polls--'vote-getters' organized, made *them* civic-minded (or paid them better)--anyhow produced individuals who made a response and voted. Some people said they even voted people who didn't live in the area, but I have no way of proving that, they just say it... . Anyhow, *they*--the white people--made getting to the polls an issue for the underprivileged person of the lower income bracket, who in this ward was *White*... . Maybe they had more conveniences (transportation, automobiles), but they got them there. The Whites were swinging over you everywhere during the campaign, and they told them 'Niggers' in school..., do you want a 'Nigger boss'--that was their way of expressing it, instead of the conditions and problems. Their voters couldn't stomach that... . They ate it up... . The feeling got to be so strong that they've been talking since then of splitting this ward up--making it two wards, half White and half colored, each with its own leader. They've been thinking of that very strongly, but I'm against it. I'd rather have all-White representation from now on than to allow that, just because they don't want to take the chance of a Negro winning to be over Whites, for it would be a step backward, it would be saying that they're right, you should have Negroes over Negroes and Whites leading Whites or Negroes together, but never the other way around, and I don't believe in that. But others--they're pretty salty over the election, and not sure that it would ever be a fair race, they could always bring in people out of the area to vote and get away with it, and these Negroes say, 'Maybe yes,' split up the ward in two and run our own candidate, just to 'win.'"

Otey himself agreed that, in such a campaign, the challenge to the Negro candidate XXXXXXX to "keep his head, be a cool one" was great--and even here the implication of "race pride" in maintaining poise as "status"-behavior can be felt:

> "I tried to play it careful and bargain for '*my city*', and to keep that racial issue out, they talked about letting the 'pinks' in, but I kept it clean on my side, only if in these voting battles it's also a matter of race pride. If the White candidate made the best run for his big machine, OK, but I would try to beat him at his own game. ...I always referred to it from City Hall on down..., I always referred to it as a nice, quiet, respectful election--right or wrong, I was against scandal, and I wouldn't reap benefits from that kind of thing. We're not yet ready to set on our own bodies around here, and I would not jeopardize my fellow-man. I tried to appeal to *civic* pride rather than *race* pride--like giving one bon bon here, and another there, versus the other kind of sugar-coating. (Grin) I'm the sugar-coating kind--but not the Uncle Tom... . I've fought for a lot of things, to increase Negro employment on busses, in office help..., and I think

> we're getting somewhere--in fact, I have reason to know it from my dealing with some of our city officials--but we have to get this out of our systems, this 'race' business, and get it past this declining stage... . I let them be unfair, but I tried to think of it as a civic thing, and keep it clean... "

With such a candidate, and in such a race, where every effort was made to "turn out the Negro vote" through coordinated organizational support, and a "block-by-block" system as the approach, it is still to be noted, however, that Otey lost--by a few votes in an area in which Negroes might have swung the majority, as members of the "enlightened" middle and upper class.

Closer examination, which this study could not allow, would no doubt uncover a play of many factors in this inadequate responsiveness, but among them there does seem to be the problem of the association of "organized politics" with "mass" appeals and--"money." As one well known woman community figure declared,

> "...It is true that I work and work hard to try to interest people of all groups in registration and voting, among all the other things that I do in Nashville. But I have always made it clear that I would do this as a community service, or not at all. If there's anything I can't bear it is these people who work in politics for money. I've really been so foolish about it that sometimes I've been paying for my own gasoline in working for a good candidate, until it occurred to me that really I could have asked for that, that would have been legitimate expenditure. But my feeling is that once you start taking money from these people, they feel that the Negro vote can be bought, and I just won't encourage that feeling, it's bad enough as it is. Still, I am realistic enough to realize that that may be one reason why I have had to do so much alone, because there are few of these people who think it's important enough to ring doorbells and cart around placards and make all the talks and appeals unless they're getting something out of it--at the same time that they don't want to be associated in people's minds with those people who, not having status already in other ways, can work for it in politics and, besides, get paid... ."

Appeal to the "Mass." Observe the scene on the day of the August 2 general election and primary, at the polls in Nashville--as noted through a few random examples. Through the press, and by word of mouth, already it had been predicted that this would be a "quiet election" and a "light vote." This was because, in Tennessee, it was said, the exciting race at this time had usually revolved around the gubernatorial contest, in which personalities could be posed against each other in the public mind, issues could be attached to individuals and their stand--without which there could be neither enthusiastic allegiances nor bitter antagonisms to provide fuel for a "hot time": "Get a good feud going on here," one interviewee smiled, and "then you'll see some activity at the polls!" Now, however, for the first even-numbered year since Tennessee had become a state, there was no race for Governor--since the extension of the original term of 2 years with a possibility of reelection, to one term in which the office would be filled for four consecutive years beginning with 1954, as a result of the persuasive influence of the present incumbent, "Keynoter" Democratic Governor Frank Clement. It was an "off"-year, besides, for the U. S. Senate races, so that attention, as we have seen, centered on the campaigns for Congress, for seats in the state General (Legislative) Assembly, for places on the State Executive Committees of the two parties, or for local--city and county--posts like that of sheriff, tax assessor, constable, and the "little elections", therefore. Whatever excitement there was here was generally engendered among local Democrats as to the outcome of the primary contests which were "tantamount to election"--and this, in turn, sparked the voters' concern, *or* bewilderment, as to the proper use of the voting machines on which all three ballots for their selection appeared.

On this day, across the state, it was said, the polls were opening and closing at various hours, some closing as early as 4 p. m., others opening, in the counties, at 8 a. m., and closing at 10 p. m.--in comparison with Nashville's Davidson County, where there were 101 voting places, open at 7 a. m. and closing at 9 p.m., Standard Time. In Nashville, as everyone knows who arrives in the city to remain more than a day, the two time systems which run government and business services simultaneously in themselves affect all activity. Daylight Time, which obviously runs one hour ahead of Standard, usually guides schedules for business, in contrast to government agencies, so that voters must also adjust their work and personal schedules accordingly on election day.

Beyond *timing* between job-demands and poll-opportunities, on this particular day in Nashville there was the factor of *weather* for voters to consider: It was gray, and dreary, cool for the normally torrid summer here, with an intermittent drizzle occasionally turning into showers.

A quick tour of polling places--usually a school-building here, a park's station-house there--thus markedly seemed to symbolize the "lethargy" so often decried. A thin stream of voters either approached the polling places from waiting cars, or dotted the grounds in small groups of temporary chatterers. The activity came from the waiting "ward-workers," utilizing this as their last chance for persuasion; these workers were usually White--as the voters in the areas noted were primarily colored--but here and there a Negro also joined them in the importuning. Each worker was equipped with numerous packs of candidate's cards, carrying the campaign slogan or an important platform detail; some waved aloft placards or banners--in some cases spread across their chests; all plead constantly aloud with some such ritualized "incantation" as, for example,

> "*Appreciate* your vote for Mrs. Brown Taylor..." (card is proffered to approaching voter) -- or
>
> "... (Candidate) would be grateful for *your* vote... ." -- or
>
> "[Negro worker to approaching Negro voter] *Do* vote for... (Candidate)--a FRIEND... ! (with knowing smile)" --

and some supplemented these entreaties with extended conversations, outlining the past record of their candidate in improving neighborhoods, or zoning regulations, or adding traffic lights to dark street-corners, to likely listeners who appeared to be impressionable as to this "helpfulness to the race." Throughout this "electioneering", which occurred directly on the polling place's grounds--with more than casual disregard of the election laws, in some instances (one worker followed this interviewer, for instance, *into* the polling place, repeating his plea, "Now don't forget to vote for...")--marked ballots and election guides specifying favored candidates were also freely distributed. Once inside the polling place, barring such a defection, however, the voter was confronted only with the watchers and election officials--who, rumor had it, were being paid from $5 to $25 for the day; who were Negro or White, women or men, and sometimes both together here in Nashville; and who sat at the long tables with their books to check registry, facing the booths and the machine. As everywhere, it would seem, at this point voting was a quiet operation and speedily disposed of under such daytime circumstances--all the moreso for Negro voters in "borderline" neighborhoods, where the onlookers and workers might also include many Whites. They voted, entered waiting cars, departed.

But, in another instance, the contrast by night was marked. Here, in the late hours from 7 to 9, following the normal supper-hour for the "upper class" Negroes or the leave-taking from domestic or other jobs for the less economically privileged, the voting became a livelier business. As towards the climax of any contest, the late and final hours for the balloting were in themselves marked by a sense of tension around the polling place, but, more than/this, the night seemed to bring with it an air of festivity. In this particular case, the polling place was at a local school-building, in a district approximately half-Negro, half-White, which included educational institutions and--almost adjacent to the polling place--an outdoor baseball stadium, ablaze with lights for an evening game. This last factor in itself --with its attendant crowds as spectators for the game--may have communicated a sense of gaiety to the nearby polling grounds. In any case, the lights among the trees here showed numerous groups of prospective voters who had come, apparently, to cast the ballot, but also with the intent of lingering to meet friends and acquaintances as if in an open park; electioneering workers here actually "visited" with prospective voters, through talk which included common personal and community concerns beyond the immediate candidates' qualities; this seemed to be a time when, in particular, racial distances acceptably disappeared, and Whites talked freely with Negroes--being involved, at first, with the direct campaign entreaty, but continuing with idle friendly chatter as all the other human beings; and Negro election officials, both women and men, in particular, seemed to move conspicuously from indoors to outdoors, from building to grounds--not only "dressed up" in personal apparel as if for "Sunday" and church, but in some cases, also flaunting large badges or ornate banners pinned across their chests identirying them as "Election Officials."

It is important, perhaps, to note, however, that these "officials"(--as a highly subjective impression--)bore very much the subtle air of expected deference and "pride of station" as a general group that seems to mark the usher at a large "important" colored church, or for that matter, the mien of the "small official" of any race in an otherwise bureaucratic situation. From small talk circulated idly among them and the balloting friends, it would appear that personages among local Negro leaders had also visited these grounds--and this fact would be duly noted, in these informal observations, that "Dr. So and So, he just voted here..., and he said...," but the leaders and "upper class" citizens did not seem to be among the loiterers; they had "paid their respects" to the voting principle, had made their interest and presence known to the strategic few among the participating "solid middle class"--whose members primarily were "out importuning in true political fashion"--'Don't Forget now, vote for Percy Priest, that's all I want you to do, don't forget my Percy Priest...'--etc., until the polls would close, at the very end.

For such "real political workers," election day--and night--terminated a long-time process, weeks and months of effort, and, in this supplementary sense, of temporary release from the pressures of more commonplace customary roles in the community through this opportunity for being "official", having the politician's status. One Negro candidate for office in a previous campaign, in Nashville, indeed, commented upon the dual reactions such transitory "prominence" can bring,

> "I'm glad I did it once," he said, "made the race, once I agreed to, but I'm not to sure I'm cut out for this kind of thing if I had to

make the decision all over again. Politics is a strange business, and my 'pressure''s been going up all the while. /Intermittently, as he talked, his conversation was sparked by the swallowing of 'nerve' pills which he laughingly, but tensely, said, his doctor had thereby given him./ In politics, you know, you've got to have 'everything in the books.' You've got to have a campaign manager--in my case he couldn't really produce as he had planned, for he had a business and a lot of knowledge about how to run that, but no politics knowledge; once he got into it, it was taking too much time from his business, he got all 'tied up...' Then, we had to have some way to get to the people--you've got to get them out of there and to the polls. You can't be fooled by meeting them on the street while the campaign's going on, and having them tell you, 'I'm with you, you're a good man, I'm with you'--for that doesn't mean they're going to produce. We had people here working for the Mayor himself, and they didn't produce, so what about it in working just for somebody like me? You've got to get them to the polls--you've got to give them some 'horse sense information' to combat these newspapers, or nasty literature, or some little racial problem--you've got to give this information fine circulation, and sometimes you've got to know how to use understatement. Well, when I had pulled all the stops I knew, and I didn't have much help, and it looked like I had failed, we had a chance to appear before a Civic Club, and present the platform, along with three or four other invited candidates. By that time it was getting around that the race would be a Negro/White issue--so the club had about 150 active members who were all ready to get stirred as long as something of that kind came up. One of the easiest ways to stir our folks, you know, is to get a racial issue, or get some civic movement started behind our being left out of what looks like a million-dollar set-up; they'll attend regularly at meetings to hear about something like that, and this non-partisan Civic Club then had a principle to fight for; they asked the other candidates to withdraw, to get behind my campaign. Then they made it a block-system--with a leader for each block taking 10 names, and add 9 more if qualified to vote from his block, and follow them through to election-day, check to make sure that they would vote. Some were able to do a fine job, got out circulars, helped to solve that 'riddle' of politics--how to get them out of there. We had a Telephone Committee, with a chairman for making a chain of calls--5 persons to call 5 more. And a Committee for Listing--and for listening to what the people want, what they say they'd like to win for; that's important. All these people will know that there'll be some poll workers and machine watchers, and for this there's always a little money, legitimate money. But meantime, they don't allow you to spend very much as the candidate--$500 or so is all--and you go into your own pocket for this, you go in debt if you keep it clean--and still you may not win... . You get a 'big name' in the community out of it, for a while--newspapers write about you, you get invited down to the ceremonies (win or lose--/Laughs/) at City Hall..., but I'm not sure I'm cut out for it all the time... ."

On the other hand, a local "real political leader" who had observed this candidate's campaign, protested that, evenso, "Just making that race as he did left him a power to be reckoned with, made people recognize him here. Most Negroes didn't recognize the power of their ballot against Whites. Sure, it was experimental, and most of the Negroes behind him didn't have the experience to win, they came in with 'too little, too late', but he showed he was no 'pin head' /makes contrasting reference to another local Negro leader/, and that in itself was another good thing."

"Politics" to this leader of the "mass" thus symbolized the pride as well as the perils of status gained through the activity, and the one, as long as "backed up," of course, by the "money", was sufficient justification for the other. Indeed, as to this "mass," here in Nashville, he declared,

> "You might as well admit it, most of them--the average voter--they're not interested in voting for their own benefit--because of that complacency, that's why here we have to 'dog' them, run them down, provide cars to get them off their jobs, carry them back. We get these ward-workers, and you might as well as know, it's a cash-and-carry basis. I've got a woman on my list who'll round up voters any time, sometimes she's got 15 or 25 cars of them on election day to pay, but she'll get them there. ...They need education why they should vote, as against this pressure--but one thing, that makes it hard, because most of the time all we can give them anyway are a bunch of "Lesser Evil" candidates. When the election is over, as far as the Negro is concerned, there's going to be an unequal proportion of jobs, they'll not be equally distributed, so the big thing is to make a showing, let the folks downtown feel our ballot counts, and--I might as well tell you--I'm one of those that also lets them know we, too, want some of the pay-off, we want either the jobs or the money... . I don't believe in letting them work our people for nothing... The only thing they can be sure of is what happens on Election Day, and they might as well get that... ."

As a local Negro educator agreed, it was the "vote and money motive or job appointment-possibilities" which distinguished the Negro prospect from the White in this town, and gave to political activity either a feeling of uselessness or a special meaning to the "middle-class, intellectual Negro", or the "city politician", or the general "mass." That these distinctions in interest--or "apathy"--again were not altogether racially contrasting along economic class lines here in Nashville was indicated by the reminiscence of a White "practical politician" as well:

> "Well (laughs), on my side of town, you know, I'm the 'odd one', for our 'best people' are just as hard to interest in politics; when I volunteered in a campaign several years ago, my friends all thought I was strange. They all thought I was doing it because I was for the man who ran for governor, and ever since they've been thinking I'm some kind of power behind his throne, a real politician. (Laughs) That's not true, I was very interested at the time in a particular community service and its improvement; in my church and other civic organizations I had been working on this project, and not getting ahead fast enough, and then this candidate of the two of them came out and said he was all for it, he'd help to get it through if he won. I worked hard for him, then, for my first time in "politics", but I did it as a community service only, and nobody believes it, but I never got any money at all. Still, I found out a lot of things! I found out that people all believed I got money --else, one friend said, 'Why would you do it?'--and it was almost as bad socially as if I had. Then, I served some time as a watcher at different districts, and I got an idea of what they meant, why they thought that way. Once I was 'green', and they sent me down to a really terrible district here, it was down in a kind of slum, you'd call it, part colored and part white in some streets. It turned out to be very funny, in a way, for the colored voters, I learned, would all be given a dollar a-piece to come in and vote--and the white voters would all come in and ask first, 'Are you the ones giving out the beer-tickets?' Some beer-company, a local brewer, was giving out beer-tickets for so many free bottles at the plant to all

> these people who would promise to vote *his* way--so it turned out that the poor colored people were getting cash and the poor white people were getting beer, but anyhow they were *all* getting paid to vote. ...Of course, what always amuses me is that, now that there's the machine, they can't really prove whether they voted the way they promised or not--I've heard that that's happened. They tell me that one Negro candidate once had some people behind him paying out thousands of *dollars*, and he ended up getting only 250 *votes*. That's the reason, though, most people seem to think politics must be a 'paying' proposition, I guess--and in the case I watched, it was really *so*... ."

(b) *Western Tennessee*: *Memphis* . "*Everybody CAN Vote Here--BUT...*" .

In Memphis, it was said, "because of the Crump influence, there's a very small percentage of our professional people who don't vote." This was one argument--that here there was no such "upper class" Negro resistance to suffrage as in Nashville, but quite to the contrary a long-time involvement in voting "as a matter of course", because "you couldn't be anybody in Memphis and hold a decent job in the city, the hospitals, or schools, unless you *did* vote; that's one thing 'Old Man Crump' would demand--that people vote." One story was told, indeed, of a colored school teacher in years past who expressed "no interest in politics" and announced quite freely at her school that she did not intend to participate in a coming election. The night before the "turn-out", however, she received a sudden telephone-call at her home, with a quoted exchange of this type:

> **Caller:** Tell me, who is the leader of your precinct or your ward?
>
> **Teacher:** I don't know...
>
> **Caller:** Well, you'd better be finding out... . You'd better be finding out between now and tomorrow morning, so you know how to *use your vote at the polls*, else you'll be looking for another *job*... .

The result, it was firmly contended, was that the teacher did seek the required information, did vote the next morning, and did keep her job--so that, in this tradition, continually in Memphis it had been pointed out that, among the colored population, "the higher the educational level, the larger the percentage of the vote": There were subtler ways in which the machine, for this class, it appeared, 'paid off.'

Since the demise of 'Old Man Crump', and the realistic threat which seemed in such instances to accompany his name, the 'new freedom' of the city's more 'progressive' White politicians seems to have become associated with the release from the voting compulsion. While, on the one side, it was protested that "Voting's nothing *new* in Memphis--everybody *can* vote here...," on the other side there were repeated explanations and qualifications following a "*but*... ." These quotations were characteristic also--with a similarity in the content of the behavior *within* the political pattern of response from the "upper class" that is noteworthy in comparison with Nashville:

> **Teacher:** (1) Well, I'm going to tell you about the situation in *my* case... . Of course I thought about it--and I don't make any apology about liking to have a good time. It *is* fun to play bridge--and why not? Why

should I go down there and vote when there's all I could be doing, and there was no contest? Many times I *have* gone to the polls, I've had to stop what I was doing, change, go down there and wait for them to get set up, or get in line, and then there's no contest--they're just giving you the chance to vote when there's nobody to *vote for*... . This year there was only one person you could feel there was a contest for, unless you were strongly Republican because you know the others don't have anything for you--that was Jimmie Walker, and it was peculiar, there was no need in voting for him on the Democratic ticket just in order to split the Negro vote. The labor union Jimmie Walker belonged to wouldn't back him--that came out in the paper--now that's awful--so, if about 4 of about 12 teachers I know voted, why not? There is a reason for this business--but you won't understand it if you've never had the activity. You say, look at 'Citizens for Progress'--well, look at *Grider*--he /Good Local Government League/ came out on the eve of the election, 'He was for segregation. He didn't want any integration!' Nobody to vote for, you see? Why worry your minds? That's your people you *trust*... . (Pause) Now I've often wondered why--said maybe I'll try to do something about it...? Maybe Negroes should hold an election for themselves. Who could you support? There's only been one person when there's been a real contest--when Dr. J. E. Walker was running for the School Board... but? Well, Dr. Walker. Then, this year--Dr. McCleave..., a nice turn-out--but run the complete Republican ticket in the primary versus the election--where would you be? You need a Party when up--to settle that case--to make scores--so...?"

Politician: They're "static and lifeless", this "upper class" of the Greek letter fraternities. They do well in regard to their social life and their card-playing, but in a battle for civil rights? They have an obligation and responsibility to do more for the race's advancement instead of just thinking about how to become personally successful. They compete, moved by a charisma of desire. They have no soul for struggle..., no spirit to crusade, to unfold the picture...of advantages in racial progress... .

Minister: There's a complacency here, too--a captive vote, and you ask them why, they say, 'I work for the man.' The Negro upper class--? I say, they're busy making money and having fun..., yes, just making the money, just having the fun... .

Newspaperman: It is important in any situation to observe the decent people "hanging back"--to see that they're not going to be aroused to act until such a time as they think it wise--and then, when thinking it's time to act, they will swing with the wind. Negro leaders have the power to swing others, and they will swing Negro morals towards their best interests... . The City Negroes here are free along organizational lines, they are *not* captive voters any more in the sense that the machine in the counties controls..., but they do not seem to be abreast of contemporary ideals as to the 'New Negro'--they don't seem to be aware of the changes possible through urbanization, migration, and the improved economy. ...They're still in the tradition where they traded independence and freedom as favors for political activity... . A woman will tell you from this "class", 'But I want my daughter to get a job...'--when she doesn't vote at all, or votes the 'wrong way'; they still know that some of the principals in the schools have gotten jobs through personal favors rather than through qualifications...

White Educator: Well, the Negro teachers had to vote under a 'partisan' tag under Crump, in spite of the fact that it was supposed to be a 'patriotism' thing... . The teachers were overworked then in political activity--and it was a very interracial thing--everybody in the schools with status would be afraid not to join with the 'organization... .'

School Principal: ...I'm a gradualist myself... . Many think I'm an 'Uncle Tom.' I'm not, but I'm a Conservative. ...Our people don't vote--oh, about 10,000 Negroes voted, and many didn't vote at all, because if you really want to *know*, the truth is 25% of them want Integration, 15% want Segregation--and the bigger part, the 60%, they don't know what it's all about, and they're not bothered, they don't care... . Now, in this last election, primary--you say, why didn't they vote for Jimmie Walker, at least? Because he was a Negro? How ridiculous! He could not have been an able legislator--and that *is* important. He was not 'up' on 'Robert's Rules of Order'--though he is a good man. Still, we need more than a good man. We have other Negroes--lawyers here, young men like Hooks, Wills, others, well-trained, but they weren't running--and then there's that other side. They were *all* segregationists--if the other side had come out for Integration, the manager, Grider--Negroes could have agreed on it, but what were they able to do besides vote straight Republican--*or*, 'single-shot' Jimmie Walker versus Lieutenant Lee? Again here, too, it became the way with the vote, 'Give--or Pay...'

Teacher: (2) ...Maybe it's because I was the oldest in our family--my mother had taught school once, and stopped when she married my father, a day laborer, so we were poor, and I suppose I've always been a round peg in a square hole, I'd never conform --if there was never another teacher with me, I'd fight the status quo. But I never intended to be involved in politics, I thought of it as 'something dirty', just not my field. Then there was a campaign in which I became originally interested, to defeat a machine candidate--the machine had been nasty to Negroes, and the candidate was a bully. One of our mayors had been a machine man, but you'd never know it, he was a fine person and a personal friend, but this one...? Well, Negroes were working for election day, we had had a civic club in our neighborhood years before, but it was a political organization only, and I decided to reorganize...with another friend. We didn't intend to be involved as officers, but we found that we were doing all the work, so we decided to take the jobs to which we were elected--we were "president" and "secretary" just as a sort of joke. But we got the Negro vote started in a definite area, and then we got three civic clubs organized--though one, we found out, was really being run by a machine stooge, a 'professor...', who never joined with us. But there were other leaders, and other talkative members of clubs we organized, so that when anything came up, some incident of discrimination, they would report it to us because of our work in the clubs. We kept the groups talking out and going along quietly, and then we saw the ideas born to organize a council of Civic Clubs--six years ago, this was. Sometimes I have worked 7 nights a week, making 2 and 3 speeches a night, organizing civic clubs, or girls' social clubs which I was trying to organize as other civic clubs, and sometimes when things have come up that I knew were discrimination against Negroes, I've just blown my top..., I've just known they would put me in jail or something, for some things I've said --Negroes just don't do that in the South--but I had dedicated myself to fight until Hell freezes over.

Now I've worked for 7 years, and I will tell you, I'm disappointed. I've worked for registration--we've given food and prizes to people to register in these political groups for years, but we tried to have them register with education, to learn about the special questions important to the election, through the council of civic clubs--and it's disappointing. You start with 9,000 Negroes registered, and then you get one-third voting--and the teachers? Ninety percent of them don't know--and didn't know--the issues, and believe me, they didn't give a darn. We have teachers here who read the newspapers only for the comics, to catch the sales in the stores, keep track of the divorces and the society columns--this they read only and don't know, don't care--and they teach just as inadequately, don't plan. If they were born in Memphis, they just see Citizens for Progress and the GGL as groups who lost or won control..., they don't know, they don't blame...: Now I'm wondering, 'Not me either?' Some of them --you know--very nice, and they will go as far as they think they can go, but that means being a worker, but not a fighter. No fighting; they will join us only as there is no case involved or nothing concrete in conflict to reflect upon their school or the college--that's the average Negro teacher here, never making an open statement even if they're 'interested in Race Relations'... . We've got to win it, and it will take organization, but I must admit I'm ready to give up..., really... .

Business Man: The problem is not that we don't have the vote here, and that we couldn't win ..., but that we just didn't sacrifice enough money behind an effort of this kind to get enough people actually organized to get out and vote. This was especially true of the Democrats here--even more than the Republicans, for Lt. Lee got out a large crowd of his voters, but we were supposed to have made a non-partisan effort towards registration...and the Democrats didn't show up as well at the polls simply because we didn't put out enough money to organize our folks--that's really all it is, you've got to organize them, get down to work at it...

Speak of "political" leadership in Memphis, and of voting interest among the Negro population as a whole, and the general impression is that of a much more suffrage-minded community than in Nashville. Spontaneously, as the political leaders here, two men are named with no hesitation--"For the Republicans, there's Lieutenant Lee; for the Democrats, Dr. Walker"--and there is an acceptance that political interest is "normal", as "apathy" must be abnormal. That is to say, there is an admission that too many people do not vote, in spite of extended--or at least partially effective--efforts, but there is a need to give a "reason why" in terms of some concrete and immediate instances "justifying" the resistance, and this explanation is either defensive on the part of the "upper class" member who points a finger at the lack of a "clear-cut" issue, or it is apologetic on the part of the leader who somehow ponders upon the weak spots in the organizational drive. Although many of the same complaints will arise in Memphis as to why the proportion of voters to registrants lags, they are stronger as to the distribution of the vote among the various factions as against its absence. Generally, political interest is so marked that, as Dr. Hollis Price, president of LeMoyne College, put it,

> "It is sometimes difficult to make a decision as to how far we should allow our students to take an active part. LeMoyne, you know, is a Congregational college, with no dormitories, and a student body of 90% local residents, few migrants, and they have a sense of values, a feeling that they have a role to play in Memphis as also their home-town, their community. Our Political Science students, therefore, have been urged to participate politically, to work out projects in their classes related to the political campaigns--making public opinion polls as to the direction of the vote in the community, observing what goes on and the like--and yet, as to the college itself, with these 400 coeds in our charge, the question always arises as to just how far we can allow this participation to go without creating here, on the campus, the possible danger of a 'captive group' of potential voters?"

The Negro vote is not a negligible factor on this political scene, and it is said that at the time of the approaching election, more and more can Whites be seen in primarily colored neighborhoods, campaigning vigorously, making their trek to strategic centers, attempting to "feel the pressure" as Liberals or otherwise, and attending carefully to the nature of campaign replies to be made in the daily "White"--and the Negro weekly--newspapers. But this is a vote in which the relations of the leaders, whether colored or White, seems to be pivotal in the impetus given to participation in one campaign or another, so that felt loyalties--or their absence--are inextricably involved with voting performance. In Memphis, as throughout the state, on the whole, for both Negro and White populations this was a campaign year marked by "lethargy on both sides" as far as the total participation in registration and voting was concerned; only a minority of qualified voters here, too, voted at all. But for the Negroes, again, it was repeatedly pointed out, what performance there was was gauged by the complexities in the leadership roles of the two men--Republican Lieutenant Lee, and Democratic Dr. Walker, of the Atlanta Life and Universal Life insurance companies, respectively--and of how their "organizations" figured in the August 2 race. Relatively, more Negroes did vote here in Memphis than Whites.

The Leaders : Lt. Geo. W. Lee . --and the appeal to the mass .

A very accessible man is Lt. Lee. He lives by day on Beale Street, in that the offices of the Atlanta Life Insurance company, whose local affairs he manages, are there--right in the heart of the famed Negro thoroughfare, the wide plate-glass window of the unpretentious and worn brick building edging onto the sidewalk, with a rather "folksy" though dingy, "Open to All," look. The offices are all on one floor, it seems, enshadowed, partitioned spaces for the workers carrying on various functions, in an atmosphere of modestly shabby gentility.

Lt. Lee's extended cubicle is towards the rear, reached by a narrow hall through which his voice may be heard, on the telephone constantly and dramatically booming. Here the setting bears an air of pretentiousness sufficient to indicate its tenant's superior status, at the same time that the infinite spread of autographed photographs from "celebrities" and citations to the lieutenant for his diversely civic and political contributions are balanced by the clutter and general untidiness surrounding the desk: An over-filled wastepaper basket with a soiled bath-towel flung over its top, empty soft drink bottles to be replaced eventually for the "coke" machine's return, stacks of papers and books and correspondence in process. Behind the desk, crouching and gesticulating at an unseen caller on the ever-busy phone--the lieutenant, sharp-faced, small, and brown. The conversation completed, with his determined and forceful "instructions" as to what can, cannot, or must not be done on this political scene, he may now turn to the visitor--opening beer, meanwhile, which spills,as he drinks thirstily in the heat,onto the office-floor,to his utterly majestic disregard before he tosses the empty can away--and it is surprising to hear later that he is really a "man past sixty--some say older..., George Lee's been around here a long time..."; for, restless, tense, nervously demanding with compulsively energetic busy-ness, he does not seem to be that old. Behind his office, with a large adjacent door through which he may survey the scene, there sits a woman worker in what is no doubt the conference-room for staff-meetings, and intermittently the "boss" calls to her with a prod to furnish new information, as he also seems to be alert to whatever is occurring throughout this floor, in "Atlanta Life"'s front rooms.

Dapper, and as "smooth" in his personal appearance and dress as his surroundings are casually ordered (though the local rumor went, at this time, that Atlanta Life was planning a new and much more impressive building), Lt. Lee was described by one interviewee as "a quaint character," by another, as "a stout-hearted fighter and able politician, with a fair organization"--quoting a local Negro weekly's description, and by a third, as "a shrewd politician and a great showman." He was a business man--not only through his connection with Atlanta Life, but in numerous other projects, including his presidency of the reputedly $2.5 million dollar "George W. Lee Homes" for Negroes. He was, further, "big in the Elks"--Grand Commissioner of Education of this popular "mass" fraternal order, through which he was said to have distributed $250,000 worth of scholarships to White and Negro high school graduates throughout the land, in a continuing program. He was an author and an orator--"gifted," a well-known local White newspaper reporter wrote, "with an unusual insight into the plight of the Southern Negro, and possessing a Demosthenes-like mastery of oratory," as well as the writer of two books published during the Depression era--"Beale Street," which became "Book-of-the-Month", and "River George," said to be based upon his personal knowledge in childhood of a sharecropper's background in Mississippi. "His literary efforts," Clark Porteous, the White newspaper reporter wrote locally, "had to be curtailed--a sacrifice, but a step toward greater achievement in the field of public welfare": In "both pursuits..., amazingly successful" ever since his graduation from Mississippi's Alcorn State College, his subsequent citation for bravery in the Argonne during World War I, as " a first lieutenant when there were very few Negro officers," and his "successful insurance career" following the discharge and his coming to Memphis in 1919," Lt. Lee, to more than one such "White friend" seemed to be now recognized as "the voice of the Negro in the Midsouth and the leader of the Negroes in Memphis."

. the political way . In the August 2 primary and general election--which, in contrast to Nashville, occurred in Memphis on a hot and shining day--Lt. Lee was personally a candidate for but one office. Endorsed by the Old Guard-Hamilton (Republican) Club, he sought to retain the place he had held on the State Executive Committee of his party for twenty years, offering only a two-year term without pay, but the continuation of his prideful position as "chief dispenser of all...patronage, jobs for Republicans White or Black...", as the boast went, in this area. This position, the lieutenant liked to point out, had come to him in appropriate succession through his relationship as the "right hand" for so many years to the famed Republican Negro leader, "Bob" Church, Jr. Quite subtly, but as definitely, there were hints from other sources in Memphis that the relationship of Lee to Church had been posthumously quite exaggerated in its rapport, and glorified cannily by the former for his personal political benefit in the years that followed Church's death. There is no doubt, however, but that the lieutenant liked to convey in his military rank the dual political connection--he was, he would say, waving a hand airily in the direction of the photograph on the wall overlooking his desk and personally inscribed to him, "Church's Lieutenant," too--although, he would add, their methods of political leadership were quite dissimilar: "For virtually a quarter of a century, 'Bob' Church controlled the 9th District," it would be explained--before the "command" passed on to Lee. He maintained authority with "militancy, and top-down control, he had no 'organization', but important personal friendships, he was powerful when in the higher echelons...with Whites..., one of whom succeeded him at first when he passed off the scene." But Lee? "I am different. I have organization..., organization..., and it is developed through the grass roots...! I have come up through the primaries...won election for the State Committee, 1940..., every year since--led the ticket this year. Precinct by Precinct, and there are 75 precincts in this city: One of the most cohesive political organizations in this country...!"

For the August 2 election, Lee's platform, as given in the League of Women Voters' Candidates' Chronicle, carried these aims:

> "Larger recognition for Memphis area from Federal Government. Help religious aspect of American patriotism in working for all, so in our fight against Communism we will prove to millions of non-whites that democracy offers more than bread alone."

His response to the query, "Greatest Change Needed"--appeared in the same journal as--

> "No special change needed at this time."

Meanwhile, however, the picture of his activity to "get out the vote" was not as bland as this report might imply. He had issued--joining his race, and that of his three candidates for State Senator, and State Representative, to the banner of the Republican Party as a whole--bundles of "Time to Kill Jim Crow" literature. He had pounced on the mayor's and the city's "One Day for Negroes" at the Zoo and Fair Grounds policy and the delay in rescinding this. He had pointed to the continued raiding of Negro cafes by the Police Commissioner's force. He had reiterated and reiterated quotations and proofs that both the (Democratic) Citizens for Progress and GLGL Whites were for segregation of Negroes--in contrast to Eastern Tennessee's Congressmen, Baker and Reece--and Desegregation was the issue.

Along with this, he had upheld his reputation both for shrewdness, strategy, and showmanship as a "politician par excellence" among the people of the "grass roots" masses. As one fellow Republican leader elsewhere in this state remarked, Lee had always had "flair": He had once brought 110 Negroes from Shelby County in chartered busses to Nashville for a meeting of the Republican State Committee, while he himself, accompanied by his quite photogenic young daughter, grandly flew--"he came by plane." In, reportedly, Drew Pearson's observation of his performances in attempts to win the 1952 presidential nomination for Taft, he could also wield a "strong arm." It is still a memorable anecdote in Memphis that Lee's fight for control of the local County Convention as an opponent of a White Republican in the race for delegate to Chicago, was marked by his uncanny strategy for "getting there 'fastest with the mostest.' His opponent, indeed, was a strong Eisenhower man, and the present U. S. District Attorney--and the rumor had been that he had planned to have his forces crowd the Shelby County convention hall before Lee's supporters could arrive on a Saturday morning, say, before about 11. With his skill for "feeling out a political hunch--it's just the feel of it I have, just like the feel of a story, in contrast with a hack writer's"--Lee met this rumor with a plan for "beating the man at what he was doing--no strong arm pattern, just cohesiveness...through the preponderance of numbers... ." The word went out along Beale Street that 1000 people were to meet at the Elks' Hall, from which they would be transported by quickly chartered street-car busses to the convention hall, which was also adjacent to the local prison. One man was stationed at the door of the hall, meanwhile, to report to Lee by telephone as to the passage of the incoming and outgoing crowd. On the designated Saturday morning, a hard rain poured, but by 9:30 a. m. one bus-load of Lee's cohorts arrived, and others followed, from three directions, each led by its own man. By 12 o'clock, it was declared by one interviewee, the convention hall was packed and jammed, so that the persons who might have wished to vote for Lee's opponent not only could not enter the hall to be seated, "they couldn't even get past the folks crowding all over the jailhouse steps--and Lee himself had to be carried up the other way to get in, up through the prison route of the building, to get onto the floor." He won.

Subsequently, Clark Porteus wrote, "his position as leader of the vanguard of the Republican Party in the South.../was/ clearly demonstrated at the great Republican National Convention in Chicago.../when he/ seconded the nomination of...Taft.../as an/ eloquent orator... ." When, nevertheless, Taft failed to get the nomination, by this report it is said, the lieutenant then "directed all of his tremendous energy to the election of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower... . Through his efforts in Shelby County and in other parts of the State, Tennessee joined the G. O. P. with a heavy Republican vote for the first time in decades... ."

. The "Bob" Church Symbol .

On the other hand, there are those who amend such a story in Memphis today with less than such enthusiastic embellishments. They recall that this was also the time when the "Great Bob Church" himself had tragically and suddenly died with a telephone in his hand as he attempted to make a "comeback" in local politics by running for a place on the Tennessee state Republican Executive Committee. This place his daughter, Miss Roberta Church /now Minorities specialist in the Eisenhower Administration in Washington/, did win in the 9th District, in, according to the Press-Scimitar of Aug. 20, 1952, "the first contested Republican election in Memphis in 20 years" after she had waged a 5-day campaign in this, her official residence for voting (although she lived frequently elsewhere, as in Washington, D. C.). Miss Church "ran second only to Lt. G. W. Lee, negro /sic/ Beale Street leader," to become "first negro /sic/ woman ever elected to the Tennessee Republican Executive Committee," with the strong endorsement of such groups as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters among Negroes, and *pro*-Eisenhower Republicans generally. "The late R. R. (Bob) Church, her father, was among Ike's first supporters," the *Press-Scimitar* story continues. "At the Taft-dominated state convention at Nashville April 1-2, Church flaunted a great gold lapel pin that said simply 'IKE.'" His daughter continued this support in the 1952 campaign, met with the then "General" Eisenhower in Denver, and reassured him of what she predicted as his "good chance to carry the state" of Tennessee. Of 'Bob' Church, the *Journal of Negro History* commented, in extended remarks upon his death the year before, in the issue for April 1953,

> "...Although...very active in politics, this was an avocation as he never sought office and declined appointments of honor and trust from Presidents Coolidge and Hoover. . . . . Mr. Church's standing in the Republican Party stemmed from a kind of disinterest in elective office and a belief that a Two-Party South was possible although he did not live to see it. In some respects he was similar to such outstanding Republicans as John M. Langston, John R. Lynch, Thomas E. Miller, and Joseph T. Settle, Sr. These men stood for probity, character, and political honor during Reconstruction and afterwards among Southern Republicans while seeking and attaining office. Their records and that of Bob Church are to be sharply differentiated from the perennial colored southern Republicans of the past and present who represent a combination of genuflecting and toadying to so-called Republicans, Lily-Whites, and southern White Democrats. For ridiculous crumbs these politicians have been pocketed every four years in advance for Republican National Convention purposes by some of the worst enemies of civil and human rights for Negroes. While some of them were again used by Senator Taft in 1952, Robert R. Church, on his death bed, drafted well in advance a plank which discredited them and their leaders who went down with their Ohio mentor at the Chicago convention in 1952. . . ."

When Roberta Church followed her father as an "Ike"-supporter, this was, she said, because the "men around him...are progressives, men who would take the party out of the Old Guard's hands...Duff of Pennsylvania and Morse of Oregon... ." There were those who felt that her influence, too, through the identification with her father, was among other forces impelling the Tennessee victory. Evenso, Lt. Lee's stalwarts agreed with Porteus that "as a political leader" he was "a giant among men"--and never exhibited his prowess more than in the strategic timing of the opening of a new Negro postoffice in Memphis, with utmost fanfare and the attendance of many of the men "close to Ike" in national Republican affairs, just before the August 2 primary and general election, four years later in 1956.

. The Postoffice .

As one interviewee here put it, in fact, "The *demonstration* that Lee is a shrewd politician *and* great showman is the opening of that *segregated* postoffice two days before election, despite all his talk about integration. A 'postoffice all your own, Negro...', they told them--how ridiculous. .: Integration--*when*? Lee knows that this is a boomerang--'your postoffice'--because the boy he has chosen to be on display as the 'first Negro postmaster' should really be the first Negro supervisor over White clerks in this city if he went up as he should in the government service. From the transfer to carrying mail, over the sacks, the mail handlers, on to the motor vehicles--the way they do all Negroes--they can now transfer to that 'Negro' postoffice all his routes and keep him there in that colored neighborhood as 'postmaster', instead of giving him the position he should have in regard to other stations."

Another interviewee added, "*And* what beats *me* is the fact that Lee was able to 'pull' that opening--of a half-*finished* postoffice--he rushed that dedication when the building was nowhere near complete, and *then* got 3,000 people to come out there and consecrate an empty frame with a brick front on it. Whoever *heard* of dedicating an *unfinished* building? But that's just what he did--and he got away with it!"

A third comment went, "The *point* is that Lee's organization isn't all *that* strong, and the whole aim of that postoffice business was not only to *try* to carry a large Republican vote in Tennessee, and particularly to design to attract a large *Negro* vote in the Republican primary, but to cinch Lee's own election to the state Executive Committee--that alone was of most interest to him. He knew that those two other Negroes running for State Representative, and Dr. McCleave, running for Senator, could never really win on the Republican ticket in a mostly Democratic city like Memphis. But what he *was* hoping for was to win his place on the Committee *and* to hold the balance of power there against the New Guard. The postoffice was just a means to that end... ."

Whatever were the lieutenant's motives (and he himself, of course, gave none of these), the "George W. Lee" branch postoffice was dedicated at 828 Mississippi Boulevard in Memphis--"in honor of one of Memphis' most outstanding citizens." Nowhere else in the mid-South, it was said, was there such a branch headed by a Negro as superintendent, and "no living Negro had been so honored" in the United States before with a branch named for him. In the dedicatory program--a booklet of several pages, giving highly adulatory biographical details, and graced by Lt. Lee's photograph on the cover--it was emphasized that the political leader himself had suggested naming the branch in honor of the late R. R. "Bob" Church, and, if not, for W. C. Handy, another famous Memphian--composer of many popular "blues." "However," it was explained,

> "It was interested local groups, along with friends of Mr. Lee in high governmental circles, who pushed the idea of naming the new postoffice in his honor. Spokesmen for local organizations of postmen composed resolutions presenting the name of Mr. Lee for the new institution. They recalled Mr. Lee's long interest and activities in behalf of government employees in Memphis and elsewhere. They cited his civic, political, and educational contributions to community progress.
>
> ".....The new station will be located in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. In an interview this was pointed out to Lt. Lee, who said he was not 'primarily interested in it being located to serve Negroes or providing exclusive employment for Negroes.' He said his major interest is that a needed facility be provided to serve all citizens and that employment opportunities be opened for all."

In this vicinity, 23,000 persons could be served by the postoffice, and the building was being leased for fifteen years. Before the structure-in-progress, a band concert was held on the lawn before the beginning of the program, initiated by a parade to the new station from the Masonic Temple. There was an "Inspirational Sing", with music led by special choruses--one conducted by a leading minister, another by Mme. Florence Cole-Talbert McCleave (the senatorial candidate, Dr. McCleave's wife, and, before her marriage in Memphis, a musician of international reputation). There were not only the photographs in the printed program of President Eisenhower, Postmaster Summerfield, and Tennessee's Republican congressman Carroll Reece, which bore their greetings, but leading political figures sat on the platform in person, and were joined by local representatives of religion, fraternal orders, civic organizations, education, and women. The lieutenant was further lauded in the program for his introduction of the annual "Blues Bowl Game", which had been "started under Elks sponsorship 20 years ago, has remained the outstanding spectacle of the year," and had become "a wonderful source of funds for the needy at Christmas time...any needy White or Negro." He was not only "a political leader," but "a servant of his people." It was pointed out that also, therefore, he had

> "...expanded programs of assistance to grown-ups who 'missed their education in the hard fight for survival during the depression years. He started classes to teach adult illiterates how to read, and over 1200 grown-ups have learned to read in Lt. Lee's Elks classes in Memphis. Other cities recognized the merit of such an undertaking and took up similar programs.'"

And, though, it was stressed, here was a "real Republican leader," the lieutenant has "been non-partisan in many of his civic endeavors, particularly in working to get Negroes registered so that they may take their rightful places as citizens on Election Day. No effort has been made in Memphis to keep Negroes from voting, and Lt. Lee saw to it that/many thousands took advantage of their opportunity--an opportunity that many Negroes in Mississippi wanted, for instance, but could not have so easily as in Memphis and Shelby County."

"During the Republican Administration of the last four years," it was claimed, "he has intelligently guided the Old Guard Republicans in a fight with a new group, the New Guard, which would not have recognized the Negroes at all, and Lt. Lee has been successful in obtaining the proper recognition for the Negro faction in the party. He has earned the privilege of representing Tennessee as a delegate to the National Convention in San Francisco, California this year."

The postoffice was thus dedicated with an appropriate responsive reading by the crowd assembled: Such pleas were included as,

Leader: "May this building be a ceaseless eloquent orator declaring in no uncertain tones that America is in truth a great Democracy, the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Response: "We dedicate this building.

Leader: "May the building bearing the name of a great Memphian, Geo. W. Lee, a man of the Negro race, be an incentive to black youth, white youth, and all youth to rise to the lofty heights of service to their fellow-citizens... .

Response: "We dedicate this building.

Leader: "To this end may the blessings of God be upon our President, our Postmaster General, our local Postmaster, the servants here employed and upon everyone served by this building... .

Response: "We dedicate this building... ."

. Aftermath .

But when the election and primary were over, there were places where this shining light was dimmed, by the dissident among the city's Democrats in particular. Undoubtedly, there were concessions, Lt. Lee had worked hard during the "Non-Partisan" Voters' Registration Campaign before this election; he had been a key figure in the $10-a-plate "Freedom's Banquet", which had been staged to enlist the interest and support of the Negro ministry in lining up workers from their congregations to increase registration in all wards and precincts by covering "house to house" with assurances of free transportation to the polls for all those who would respond. Unmistakably he had utilized the Lincoln League, the Elks, and all whom he could reach on Beale Street and all over town to gain votes for his Republican candidates whom he insisted did have a chance to win in the November elections--"if the Negroes will just get out there and vote for Civil Rights!" Only if they would exercise the right to become the "majority will" which was open through the ballot to "White plus Colored" could they expect party politicians to "curry our favor or increase our blessing." Through his influence, Lt.Lee could truthfully boast, moreover, that the "only colored member of a Republican Primary Board to become Secretary"--for his district--had been appointed: Mrs. Lola Lee /"no relation"/ was empowered with four other persons to certify and check on returns from all elections--"the only one in the South," without question. There were those who observed that, as to his own loss of prestige in winning personally his place on the State Executive Committee while losing the power of control of the majority seats to the New Guard, there was some point in the lieutenant's heated explanation that the ballot was so badly drawn that many of his followers voted for the New Guard candidates in error, since these names immediately followed his own. And, on the night when his "organization" met at the Elks Hall on Beale Street after the election, to celebrate what victory there was, the hall was jammed with dressed-up ladies and gentlemen to whom the oratorical flow of praise to them as what the lieutenant termed "The Great...Invisible Army" made but a felicitous prelude to the food diffusely distributed, before the climax of the evening came with the ceremonial "calling out" of the faithful to receive the political reward in cash.

. The Pay-Off .

Lt. Lee had previously been moved to cry, "Revolutions grow upon hungry stomachs...One helps the other"--and it was clear on this night that the giving away of food, with festivity, was considered to be an important part of the celebration. As in any large group, there were persons, of course, to whom this seemed to be of minor interest, and all the proceedings were borne with patiently, and in some cases apathetically, until the moment of the envelopes' distribution. To many others, however, the announcement that "Mrs... /well-known local caterer, apparently/ is in charge of the collation--and you know what that means!" was greeted with smiling and appreciative warmth. The basic menu appeared to be a fried chicken dinner in the customary "public banquet" tradition, with ice cream and cake for dessert and a cold drink. Much of the service, on paper plates to seated and standing guests around the room, was voluntary, so that what actually occurred was the dispensation of dinner to some, dessert to others, and merely a cold drink to a third segment. The volunteer "waitresses" were thus frequently harried by persons who felt themselves overlooked, until the food provided was all gone, and the time came for the money-contributions. Here, the Primary Board secretary, Mrs. Lee, began to call off the designated workers' names, as each came forward to receive the funds--uneventfully at first, but with increasing tension as the "rule" was made clear and enforced that none but the identified worker in person could be paid: No money could be "sent" by a friend, relative, or district leader, it was repeatedly pointed out, but finally the protests of some ward-workers and district leaders were so strong that a few exceptions were made--("If I could be trusted to get this lady to work, and she's home sick tonight and asks me to bring it, I could be trusted to get the money to her...").

(must be continued)

Nat - Special Suffrage
Tenn

ESTABLISHED 1869
The Chattanooga Times
DAILY AND SUNDAY

FRED R. TRAVIS
NASHVILLE BUREAU
228 CAPITOL BOULEVARD
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

Sept. 29, 1958.

Dear John:

Based on a spot check of representative counties, the best estimate I can make is that Tennessee has 185,000 registered and qualified Negro voters. This is based on a total voter registration of 1,300,000, which is an estimate since there is no central reporting service. You can't even find out the number of precincts in this state.

The total registered vote two years ago was estimated at 1,400,000 but it is believed to have declined slightly since that time. A number of county election commissions have been purging the registration rolls of voters who have failed to cast a ballot during the past four years.

In 1950, the Federal census showed Tennessee had a total white population, over 21 years old, of 1,659,758. Non-white population over 21 (and this may include a few orientals and Indians but is almost all Negro) was 318,790.

The population has increased some since then but the percentage of Negroes is on the decline as a result of out-migration, particularly from the rural areas. In 1956, for example, the census bureau estimated the total Tennessee population of voting age to be 2,042,000, which is about 3.3 percent greater than it was in 1950. In 1952, when the census bureau estimated the total population of voting age to be 1,976,000, the total vote for President was 893,000, which is 45.2 percent of the total number of persons presumed to be of voting age, though not all of them have qualified by registration.

Negro registration and voting is actively discouraged in only two counties---Fayette and Haywood, in both of which the Negro population outnumbers the white. About a dozen Negroes are reported to have registered in Fayette County and it is possible that one or two of them have voted at times.

In Fayette County, the 1950 census showed the population over 21 years of age to be 4,587 white, 8990 Negro; in Haywood County, 6,013 white and 7,921 Negro.

In Tipton county, on the Mississippi River, Negroes are registered but relatively few of them vote. The total vote in the last election there was about 8,000, of which about 1,000 are estimated to have been cast by Negroes. The county, in 1950, had 10,374 whites over 21 years of age and 5,570 Negroes. However, local officials estimate the ratio of whites to Negroes to have increased as a result of out-migration, a process which, it might be added, the whites are giving some considerable encouragement.

Besides migrating out of the state, Negroes are moving increasingly to the urban centers. For example, in 1950 the census showed that Tennessee had in its urban centers residents over 21 years of age 730,729 whites and 219,229 Negroes; rural non-farm, 429,193 whites and 39,494 Negro, and rural far, 499,836 white and 60,067 Negro.

From this it can be seen that the bulk of the Negroes of voting age are in the urban areas, where they are not only permitted to vote but encouraged to do so. The Negro vote is credited with having elected the present mayors of Nashville and Memphis.

In Shelby (Memphis) County, total registration is 202,214, of which 56,347 are negroes with 48,144 of these within the city of Memphis.

Davidson (Nashville) county has a total registration of 137,000 but the election commission does not segregate the Negroes. Unofficial estimates place the number of qualified Negro voters at 25,000. This is about in line with the population ratio for persons over 21 years of age---168,706 white, 43,224 Negro in the 1950 census. Practically all of the Negroes reside in the city, where, of course, the municipal officials avidly seek their vote. The Negroes have two members of the Nashville city council and one member on the city school board.

Knox County has fewer Negroes than other metropolitan areas. In 1950 the census of population over 21 years of age gave Knox County 126,396 whites and 14,163 Negroes. The present proportions are said to be about the same. A total of 120,000 are registered to vote but there is not reliable estimate of how many of these are Negroes.

Hamilton County in 1950 showed a population over 21 years of 104,808 whites and 27,163 Negroes. Harry Young can supply you with more accurage information on Negro voting there than I can give you.

I came across one oddity, if it isn't a typo. In Morgan County, the population figures for 1950 showed a Negro population of 275 males over 21 years of age to 17 females. Those must be the best satisfied Negro gals in the entire U. S. A.

Regards,

Fred

Note on Invasion of Privacy:

In all the interviews conducted during this study, interviewees were told that they would not be quoted directly in any subsequent publication, and that their names would not be used in this way in the study. In the majority of the instances, there were spontaneous assumptions that such quotation could be left to the interviewer's discretion, while other persons gave interviews only upon the understanding that this agreement would be kept.

That names are mentioned freely here, throughout, therefore, is meant to accord with the nature of the report as a confidential series of informal observations from a consultant on assignment, in direct transmission to the Southern Regional Council--and as a mark of the data's sources, to identify the nature and validity of the impressions. The caution is stressed, however, that for publication purposes, keen attention should be given to other devices for introducing direct quotations under descriptive, rather than, identifying labels, of the persons individually involved.

m. f.

TENNESSEE--AND THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO VOTE

Impressionistic Analysis
of
A General View

Introduction: Circumstances of the Inquiry and Methods of Study, Analytic Emphases

Analyses: (A) TENNESSEE, THE STATE, AND RISE OR FALL OF THE NEGRO VOTE

The "Volunteer State"--in which general freedom of the ballot, with the grave exceptions of Haywood, Hardaman, and Fayette counties, does not assure widespread volunteering for its use. Complexities here.

Permanent registration without racial distinction, lack of prohibitive poll tax barriers, high percentage of Negro urban dwellers, possibilities and limitations in 2-party political participation, in the areas--Middle, Western, Eastern Tennessee (strong Republican influence primarily limited to the East, with Middle and Western Negro "pockets.")

General impression for 1956--the vote's rise or fall, with significant factors. (Generally the vote has risen, but slightly, with fluctuations.)

(B) CITIES OF THE AREAS--NASHVILLE, MEMPHIS, KNOXVILLE, CHATTANOOGA

Descriptive account of the cities' characters, historical details, and Negro-White involvements. Local government--and Negro participation. Local leaders or contributors to impressions. Related national, regional, state circumstances affecting the local picture--in these cities and in selected county centers (including Brownsville in Western, and Oak Ridge, in Eastern, Tennessee.) The local view. Supreme Court Decision?

(C) VOTING PERFORMANCE AND REGISTRATION, COMPARATIVE POPULATIONS, IN THE KEY AREAS--COUNTIES IN MIDDLE, WESTERN, EASTERN TENNESSEE

Factors of difficulty in deriving Voting, Registration figures. The figures--generally for the state, of Negro registration (1940-56). Of estimates of Total and Negro Registration and Voting in August 2, 1956 Primary, with Comparative Populations. Estimates, and Variations, of Negro/White Registration and Voting. Selected Examples of 1956 Voting for Candidates involved in Segregation/Integration as a Political Issue--with Negro Voting Preferences and/or Performances for Negro and White candidates. Selected Examples for Other Elections. Other Tennessee counties. Some personal opinions on the problem of increasing registration and voting performance: Motivations needed beyond apathy and lack of consciousness. (Interviewees speak.)

(D) CONDITIONING FACTORS AFFECTING STATUS OF THE NEGRO VOTE: THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

Urban/Rural participation in politics and voting--more activity in cities than counties by Negroes. The nature of urban participation--"class" resistance to political involvement, with the few exceptions; arousal of "mass" participation primarily by "crisis" issues--negative versus positive appeals; instruction houses and the "atmosphere of joy", polls, status and deference factors, free transportation, food, drink, and the "bought" vote. Whites and the Negro "migrations"--from city to county, on the one hand; from South to North, on the other; Social with Economic involvements--economic conditions, employment, industrialization factors. The impact of trade unions--and the questionable prediction of "liberal" political action where Negro vote is concerned on segregation and other questions in the South. Rural pressures of plantation economy on pro-segregation voting performances of Negroes, or on their lack of participation in voting at all. Rewards and compensations for individuals and groups--new schools as the growing symbols of rationalization for accepting "separate but equal" and effecting this through the vote. The Negro Teacher and School Principal--urban and rural political roles, differences in freedom of, or participation in, registration and voting: Apathy in Nashville (Middle), Crump Machine pressures for long-time participation in Memphis, related to Shelby County's political bossism among White land-owners with Negro holdings (Western), Required registration for teachers in Knoxville, Chattanooga--in contrast to performance through "talking a good ballot" (Eastern). The Negro Minister and the Churches: Leadership in Nashville's ministerial alliance, and for the state NAACP, in Memphis--as political candidates and for non-partisan registration, against Withdrawal with strategic exceptions among young ministers, in the East. In contrast, the political influence of Racketeering and gambling house operators.

"Paid" and "civic" participation-roles of Newspapers for the establishment of Negro political "bosses." White and Negro Press Performances for political participation in the areas; Other media--especially the Negro radio station. Organizational efforts and prospects--ways, means, and results of specific political organizations; of groups cooperating for political ends with individual autonomy in other matters; community registration efforts. Especially on the NAACP and League of Women Voters' roles, with other groups. Scattered observations on the Tennessee Council of Human Relations and possibilities. The Mayor's Race Relations committee and Integration Service in Memphis. Pro-segregationists: Citizens Councils, Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation, Federation for Constitutional Government--and impact in "The New Intimidation."

(E) THE NEW INTIMIDATION--AFFECTING THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN TENNESSEE

Summation in comparisons with Jackson's findings for Southern Regional Council, relationships to some observations in Southern School News, and to impressions gained during the study. Discrimination and Violence areas, contrasted with subtleties of the New Intimidation. Cautions in analysis of violence-atmosphere in singularly racial terms of anti-Negro pressures--some areas of Tennessee are characterized by violence in political life regardless of race: What relationships to past judgments? Reciprocity of effects in White and Negro life: Growing intimidation of the White Liberal Southerner, and effects on Negro morale. Growing fears of Social and Economic Pressures among both groups for political commitment--with depression and confusion over the "ritual dishonesty" of political behavior, in juxtaposition to expectations of leadership guided by moral values. Results in social paralysis of the otherwise enlightened, an increasing "catatonic withdrawal"--interpreted as "apathy," "complacency"--marked by fear of decision. Action, therefore, by the negatively committed--firmly to pro-segregation or against it in positive drive, or by the economically rewarded voters. Minority. For the future---some interviewees' impressions of prospects. Conclusions.

A. TENNESSEE, THE STATE, AND RISE OR FALL OF THE NEGRO VOTE

"Tennessee," the lady said, "is really, you know, three states. There is really Tennessee--or Middle; there is really Mississippi--or Western; and there is really Virginia--or Eastern... ."

The interviewer inquires, "Virginia...? Before--or after Interposition...?"

"Oh, before...," the lady answers. "Before... ."

Southern School News, July:

"The contrasts between West, Middle and East Tennessee are sharp and many. Perhaps none is more pronounced, however, than the difference in Negro population.

"In the West-state, Negroes make up 26 percent of the population [70.6 percent, in one county]; in the Midlands, 8 percent; and in East Tennessee less than 5 percent, including two counties which have no Negroes and nine in which there are no Negro school children enrolled. [SSN, September, 1954]."

World Almanac, 1956:

"Tennessee. Volunteer State.

"Capital: Nashville. Area: 42,244 sq. mi., rank, 33rd. Population (Census of 1950), 3,291,718. Rank, 16th. Motto: Agriculture, Commerce. Flower: Iris. Bird: Mockingbird. Tree: Tulip Poplar. Admission: 16th.

"Tennessee, in the East South Central group, is bounded N. by Kentucky and Virginia; E., by North Carolina; S. by Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia; W. by Arkansas and Missouri. The Mississippi flows along the western boundary.

"The state is divided into three geographical sections: East Tennessee with the Great Smoky Mts..., on the east, Great Valley and Cumberland Mts. to the west; the Central Basin surrounded by a Highland Rim; West Tennessee, plateau region sloping westward to the Mississippi R. bottoms. Principal cities are Nashville, noted for its educational institutions; Memphis, industrial center and cotton market; Knoxville, hq. for TVA; Chattanooga, with its famous Lookout Mtn.; Oak Ridge, atomic energy capital.

". . . . Formerly an agricultural state, Tennessee now is industrial, with manufacturing payrolls twice farm income. . . . .Principal industries are chemicals, textiles, foods, apparel, printing and publishing, metal working and lumber products. . . . . Tennessee's agricultural output is about equally balanced between field crops and livestock... . Leading crops...cotton..., corn..., tobacco..., hay... .

"Tennessee has 53 institutions of higher learning, including 28 colleges and universities, among them Univ. of Tennessee (Knoxville), Vanderbilt, Fisk, Meharry Medical.

". . . . . The TVA system of dams has provided a series of lakes 650 miles long, which, with tributary projects, comprise around 600,000 acres of water in the Tennessee Valley area, ...aiding economic and recreational welfare.

"Tennessee has at least three natural wonders--Reelfoot Lake, the reservoir basin of the Mississippi River, formed by an earthquake (1811); Lookout Mountain, a rock-faced promontory overlooking Moccasin Bend, at Chattanooga; and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park which is about equally divided between this state and North Carolina.

"Explored by DeSoto in 1541, Tennessee was first settled in 1757. Originally a part of North Carolina, the area now comprising this state was ceded to the United States in 1784, but existed for a time as the State of Franklin. It was included in the Territory South of the Ohio, 1790. It became a state June 1, 1796."

....

What "Tennessee" means, according to one Chamber of Commerce piece, is unknown except for the fact that the word is said to have come from the Cherokee Indians, whose settlements made this state's principal towns in later years. That this is called "The Volunteer State," however, has roots in history which, here, were readily traced: During the Mexican War of 1847, when the military quota requested of Tennessee was 2,800, about 30,000 men, instead, responded--as "volunteers."

In 1950, the total state population was 3,291,718--of whom 80.23 were native-born White, 0.50 were foreign-born White; Negroes were 19.26, and other races--0.01. This population was distributed over 95 counties and 9 congressional districts, and on the whole it was 73 percent rural, while the Negro percentage of urban dwellers was high--35 percent, or sixth from highest in twelve Southern states.

Geographically almost in the center of the United States, and with its widely diverse, three, "Grand Divisions" of Middle, West, and East, this is a state in which many freedoms have been long experienced, as others have been denied. Racially also "central", historically state practices have been "split," divided. By the Constitutional Convention of 1870, slavery was prohibited, among other measures rejecting the right of property in man--rectifying the earlier Constitution of 1835. The Right of religious worship was established, and Education was to be supported through common school funds, and to be cherished: "Knowledge, learning, and virtue being essential to the preservation of republican institutions, to cherish literature and science [was to become] a duty." Whites and Negroes were conceded to have the rights of education in state-supported colleges--at the same time that, until the most recent rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court brought this into question, the state Constitution also provided that "No learned establishment...shall allow White and Negro children to be received as scholars together in the same school." Similarly, intermarriage between Whites and Negroes..., the latter defined as "mullattoes, a person of mixed blood, descended from a Negro to the third generation inclusive"--or "their living together as man and wife...in this state is prohibited... ." But the right of suffrage, of free and equal elections without political test, has been extended, rather than delimited, with increasing years, in that the poll tax requirement has been dismissed since 1953--and yet, the ballot has not been widely used. In three of the state's counties--Haywood, Hardaman, and Fayette--it is said that intimidation through the actuality or threat of violence accounts for the would-be Negro voter's hesitation. Otherwise, the relatively small group of "vote-volunteers" can be accounted for only through examination of a number of complex factors.

Permanent Registration

In 1948, Jackson was reporting for the Southern Regional Council that racial distinctions in registration had "disappeared some time ago...in Tennessee, except for two or three river bottom counties." The same report emphasized that for the South as an entire region, "it would be difficult to point to more than a handful of...cities with a population of 25,000 or more in which there is vigorous opposition to Negroes becoming registered voters. In Memphis...they may qualify with as much ease as they may in any northern city." That, "In...Tennessee /along with Virginia and North Carolina/ /even before the Smith vs Allwright decision/the primary had already been abandoned since 1930, either as the outcome of court action or as a mere change of public sentiment... ." And that there were even then, indeed, sufficient illustrations perhaps "to prove that it is not always the barriers to voting which disqualify the colored people, but sometimes the absence of a voting consciousness among them. Assuming that Negroes prized the ballot during the Reconstruction period, and that they lost interest in voting when disfranchisement came, it still remains to be shown why they do not advance faster in the more tolerant atmosphere of the present time"--for "in states of the Upper South, where the restrictions are generally of a non-racial character, thousands of Negroes have not qualified, in spite of a new freedom which beckons them." Even at this time, as far as Tennessee was concerned, Jackson had further noted that, of the six Southern states still clinging to the poll tax in one form or another, Tennessee had "limited the requirement almost to the vanishing point", that, though, with Texas, this state exacted "a larger sum of money than South Carolina and Arkansas, ...the tax here /was/ likewise non-cumulative": During this study, interviewees in 1956 declared that the rate was $2 per year, but it was "not required."

When Jackson, therefore, concluded that "to say that a removal of all the barriers /to the ballot/ would completely solve the problem is a mistake," the view turns pointedly to Tennessee, where voting performance, with the exceptions noted, cannot claim to be impeded by discrimination in Registration. When Jackson insisted that "greater than the poll tax as a barrier to voting, and far greater as an instrument for race distinction, is the registration requirement", for "it involves a personal relationship in an unfriendly atmosphere while the poll tax payment is satisfied by paying a sum of money in a public office, or by mailing it," new questions were stirred: Does registration, here, lag because the process "...entails hardship for many Negroes, for...every single registrar is a law unto himself"--because, behind the formal proscriptions, there is "very little centralized state control of registration and elections," with "officials left free to do as they please. One registrar may require more or he may require less than the law of the State demands"...? And, what of those demands--the rewards and punishments--of voting, in actuality?

The answer appeared soon to be that, as we shall see, according to the Election Laws of the State of Tennessee, registration for all citizens was considered to be "permanent", with these provisos:

> For all persons 21 years old or over, these laws made it a misdemeanor for a registrar to refuse to register any person, to exact educational or other qualifications, as long as he or she appeared at the courthouse or other designated place between 8:30 a. m. to 5 p.m. in the

period up to 20 days before a scheduled election, under indicated conditions: As to residence requirements, for instance, the voter must have lived in Tennessee for one year, and in the county of voting for three months before the date of the next election. He or she must vote in the precinct in which he is registered, so that if there has been a change of residence, the registrar must be notified and a new registration is demanded for the new precinct--or, if the removal has occurred within a twenty-day period before the election, the record must be clear that the voter has permission to vote in the old precinct. If, through marriage or otherwise, moreover, the voter's name is changed, he must register again, or lose the suffrage right--as he will, also, if he or she neglects to vote in a state-wide election for four successive calendar years, or has lost the right to vote by court judgment. If he does not appear at the registrar's office under any of these circumstances in person, he must send proper notification by mail. Beyond this, however, year after year residents may vote without the need to re-register--may vote, that is, but will, it also appeared, depending upon other conditioning factors.

Party Affiliation . As the "Grand Divisions" of Tennessee into Middle, West, and East, so also is this a state in which interviewees speak of sharp distinctions in party allegiances. Jackson reported that by the time Negroes had "been admitted into the ranks of the Democratic party in about half of the states of the South...the greatest integration /had/ taken place in Tennessee and Oklahoma." He also noted that there were "only a handful of White Republicans in any of the states of the Solid South, ...with these few holding racial views about the same as those of the Democrats" as to the relationship of Negroes to the party. "Tennessee," as one of our interviewees put it, " is no two-party state until you get to the East, where we have the only 2 Republican Congressmen in the first and second district, in Huntington and Carroll County. In the West, there are 3 or 4 Republican counties, but here and in the Middle regions, in the main to be a Democrat running for office is 'tantamount to election.'" This feeling is so strong that, in the cities, it was pointed out, although there are strong "Republican pockets" among both Negroes and Whites, election candidates and campaigns are run along "non-partisan" lines--"any man who feels fit can run for office, and anybody who wants to can vote for him, regardless of party"--or, "otherwise a Republican running, as such, would never win anything, except in the state or national elections."

It is the party organization and its strength or weakness, as far as Negro political influence is concerned, which is felt to affect strongly the exercise of the voter's rights through permanent registration. It is the party interest which sends workers out "to look for them in any race--you've got to look, if you want to know whether or not a person has failed to vote for two general elections--that means for four years, once every other year--you've got to keep right at them, letting them know the personalities and how to vote for them without confusion if it's a general election and a primary at the same time, especially, and they've got to use the machines... ." For this is the time--in the general election and primary--when registration "pays off", but also the time when the experience is tested as to whether or not "it is worth the candle." Voters may vote in the General Election or either the Democratic or Republican primary--on a machine on which all three ballots appear, but there must be sufficient "know-how" to make the necessary selection. As one leader put it, "It is the most difficult thing to get people to be sure about knowing that voters of both parties may use the general election ballot, at the same time that they must choose candidates in either--and only--the Republican or Democratic primary listing." At best, for many such voters, the machine appears to be terrifying, and the ballot form unduly complex, and unless there is strong party leadership to dramatize either an issue or a personality, the picture of "lack of voting consciousness" or "apathy" is increased.

Negro Vote's Rise or Fall

In Tennessee, the "Volunteer State," indeed, in 1956--which was a year of a general election and primary campaign during the course of this study--two Memphis newspapers, the "white" *Commercial Appeal*, a daily, and the Negro *Tri-State Defender*, a weekly, commented following the suffrage performances on August 2:

(a) *Commercial Appeal*--expressing "feelings and deductions," in "joy and sorrow over the election", with these conclusions: (For both Negroes and Whites...?)

1 - The relatively light vote again established that the great majority of the local electorate does not become aroused over issues which may become exaggerated in the heat of political battle, and turn out to exercise their ballot franchise only when there is a clash of personalities;

2 - The impact of an organization is decisive, particularly when the ballot is light, and a core of straight-ticket votes constitutes a majority;

3 - Running as an Independent has a number of hindrances, not the least among them are financial limitations and lack of supported supporters to help win friends and influence people at the ward level... .

(b) *Tri-State Defender*--suggesting that "results gleaned at the week-end from still incomplete returns from the August 2 general election and Democratic, Republican primaries point to three significant situations:"

1 - Even the most outspoken *pro*-segregation candidate, through one method or another, can count on a certain degree of Negro support;

2 - Despite certain "polls" indicating otherwise, Negroes are going to go Republican in November more so than in ever in recent years, if the expected pitch for their vote is made;

3 - Those Negroes, normally Democratic, who are torn between party loyalty and the Racial question, might sit out the November balloting... .

These comments suggest the recall of Jackson's views in 1948 that, generally, "one of the shortcomings of democracy in America today is the habit of non-voting by a large proportion of its citizens..., a nationwide failing which embraces all sections, but finds its worst expression in the South. In many elections in the region, only 5 or 10% of potential voters exercise the right of franchise." And that, now, as then, "In the meantime, neither race seems deeply concerned." In spite of permanent registration, a white leader in Nashville further complained, "We don't build, for only a miserable percentage of those qualified will actually vote. There is a *complacency* in *everybody*--but we haven't scratched the surface. People are bending *under pressure*, but they are not enough concerned with actually working things out... ." One Negro leader adds, "If there's a light Negro vote, it's because the rank and file don't see the importance of voting for State offices for the Senate, the House, the General Assembly, the vast majority are not conscious that the state government is as important as local and national government; they don't realize that laws can be made locally in the state decision on issues, and that no city in Tennessee enjoys home rule. They don't realize the importance of voting to prevent the *bad* issues... ." A second active colored politician echoes the charge of "they're not interested, there's a *complacency*"; a third repeats, with a synonym," there just seems to be a *lethargy*..."; and a fourth agrees, "there's a general *apathy*...", as he adds, however, hopefully, "but there does seem to be a slight rise.... ."

Specifically, for the state, it will be seen, the difficulty of obtaining accurate voting figures is still severe, and reports of registration may be a limited measure of the ballots Negro voters actually cast. The picture that we have gained gives only the following clues,

City	1947-52-56:	Rise?	Fall?
Nashville (but slight, and fluctuating depending upon the issues in the particular campaigns)		X	
Memphis (and greater than Whites, despite a Negro population decline, but also with some fluctuations)		X	
Knoxville (in 1956, compared with 1952, but possibly affected by a declining aggressiveness on the segregation issue, regardless of a Negro population rise?)			X
Oak Ridge (along with a declining population?)			X
Chattanooga (and more proportionately than Whites, during a general Negro/White decline, making voting performance on the whole disappointing, the rise slight and fluctuating according to the issues or the method of political organization?)		X	

Already we have observed, that in this picture, the particular strength of party organization may be one strategic force, but this is only one among others. In each city of each region, in the urban as against the rural areas, and throughout the state's study, there appeared additional answers as to the actual meaning, in potentialities for action, of "permanent registration" in Tennessee, among the people who through their varied histories and relationships in both races, choose to vote—or to withdraw and "sit out...the balloting," in apathy... .

B. CITIES OF THE AREAS

I. NASHVILLE--IN MIDDLE TENNESSEE .

"The Peculiar City." Nashville, people would say repeatedly, "is a peculiar city." It is the seat of Davidson County, and the capital of Tennessee.

According to Chamber of Commerce pieces, "There are so many reasons why Nashville is a wonderful place to live!" says Mayor Ben West: "Highest paid teachers mean better education. Higher standards for Health and Sanitation. Better protection for Life and Property. Facilities for More Comfortable Living. Finer Recreation Opportunities for All. Greater public improvements. Planned Program of Progress for the Future. Bringing Sound Business Principles to City Government"--'telling the world' that "These Help Make Nashville a Better City" where there is "daily garbage disposal, a sewer program, and Capitol Hill Redevelopment--Slum clearance--the "No. 1" such project in the United States." There are the School Mother's Patrol--the mayor's own innovation, which includes Negro mothers who are rewarded for traffic-watching at $1 an hour, and which many feel is also one of the municipal administration's political assets; the Traveling Library--utilizing which one Cof C piece shows a Negro mother and child, being served by a well-dressed Negro male librarian; there are the golf-links--one-time symbol of friction over Negro exclusion--and the parks (mostly "White" only); the churches and administrative and religious publishing boards--including both the Methodists and Baptists among Negroes who make Nashville their headquarters. Negroes are members of the City Council, School Board, Board of Censors, the Transit Authority, and the Auditorium Committee. The large Negro colleges--A&I State, Fisk University, and Meharry Medical College--are always notably joined to descriptions of the White Vanderbilt University, Peabody College for Teachers, and Scarritt Bible College, which the City Fathers use to promote the reputation of Nashville as "The Athens of the South."

To many old-time Nashvillians, it is the last characteristic, however, which makes the city "peculiar": Nashville, to these Negroes, is a historic city of the Old South set in the "rolling bluegrass country of Middle Tennessee" which, in modern times, is being constantly invaded by transient and alien University professors and students--of both races. In the views of the traditionalists, these persons of temporary residence cannot help but bring to the city's interests equally brittle loyalties: To immediate, rather than long-term, developments to serve needs which to the Old Guard are primarily "selfish:" The cosmopolitan character which they lend to a community which becomes marked by the status-drives of Negro professionals and intellectuals, as far as the colored community is concerned, and which the White university world matches, is a fragile gift, as these "permanent" citizens see it.

"Old Nashville"-memories are rooted in traditions which stem from the founding of the city on Christmas Day, 1779, by James Robertson, who began the construction of Fort Nashborough along the bank of the Cumberland River for the first settlers who arrived in April, 1780--and who was joined later by Col. John Donelson, whose daughter, Rachel, later became wife of "Old Hickory" Andrew Jackson, seventh president of the United States.

Along with the Parthenon--replica of the Athenian temple--and other buildings of Grecian design, including the state Capitol, for which Nashville is the seat--Jackson's historic home, "The Hermitage," stands as one of the local landmarks. This is a city in which promotion literature inevitably notes that a statue of

Sam Davis, "boy hero of the Confederacy", stands near the entrance to the Capitol grounds--and that the cabin of "Uncle Alfred," General Andrew Jackson's faithful Negro body servant, still stands in the "Hermitage"'s rear yard, "restored and furnished to show how slaves lived in the 19th century's early years, long before "Uncle Alfred" finally died in Nashville in 1901: "Loyal friend and faithful slave"--Uncle Alfred, to the local historian, "lies in his humble grave close by his master." Yet, also here, in 1907, a Negro served in the Legislature.

The late Dr. Felix Robertson, child of James, the founder, was the first White boy to be born in what was to become this city, for whom he later became mayor three times. Other White Nashvillians are native to the city, or to other parts of the South, but the population also includes descendants of Federal soldiers who remained after the Civil War to marry women of the city and rear today's families. Even today, Nashville seems "Southern" but also "Northern" in much of its character. And, also in racial terms this is a city of complexities and contradictions--in which Negroes have had a long history from slavery, but a liberation from much of its tradition for a weighty period of modern living. By 1830, when there was a Nashville population of 5,566, there were 1,108 slave and 204 free Negroes within it. In twenty-nine years, by 1859, Nashville had grown to include 19,728 Whites, and four times more Negroes than in 1830--5,583, of whom 1,758 were free. This long-time tradition of "free Negro citizens" in Nashville's pattern of everyday living--along with the maintenance of some legal segregation practices in their remnants--makes for an atmosphere which adds to the "peculiarity" of the social climate. In 1956, Negroes may not eat with Whites in downtown department store or other restaurant facilities (excluding the airport dining room 6 miles or so from town)--but in these stores they are treated with every courtesy, to the observer's eye, with all the deference accorded other paying customers, and with the unselfconscious use of all the grace titles, "Mr.," "Mrs.," "Dr.," "Professor," and the like. While slums are being cleared, many professional Negroes privately own and maintain beautiful homes--with well-kept yards, which, on the other hand, they must enjoy in lieu of free access to their city's parks. Nashville is a city in which one Vanderbilt professor, in contrast to others, may be head of the pro-segregation, States' Rights, Federation for Constitutional Government, but it is also a city in which the mayor can offer its key to Thurgood Marshall, with appropriate ceremony and surprisingly free remarks of appreciation for the accomplishments of the NAACP. For the traveller, it is of further significance in that Negroes may ride in any cabs--"Yellow", white, or black. It is a city of which one young interviewee--a refugee from voteless Somerville, in Fayette County--could remark, as she attended school at one of the local Negro colleges,

> "I like this segregation here in Nashville much better than that in Memphis, near Somerville where I live. In Nashville they treat you nice, even call you 'Mrs.'--not like in Memphis, where it's always your first name. This segregation here is much better... ."

Local Government--Negro Participation

Nashville's City and County government is the Mayor-Council form for the city, with Davidson County matters handled by a county court of 45 members, meeting quarterly under the county judge, who is head of county government as probate judge and financial agent. For the city, administrative authority which is centered in the Mayor as chief executive, is distributed through several department directors, various boards and commissions, beyond the Council, the legislative body. Including Alexander Looby, attorney, and Robert E. Lillard--the two Negroes--among them, the Council has 22 members, of whom one is president and Vice-Mayor--under, in 1956, the mayor, Ben West. West, a Democrat, who gained office strategically with the aid of colored voters, is considered to be, to this political extent, favorably interested in Negro affairs generally, and in the exercise of the vote by colored--as all other-citizens, increasingly. Those colored interviewees who spoke of him, in turn, varied in their appraisal, as it would be expected, according to their allegiances to him--he was a "true blue" politician who "kept his word in paying off Negro as well as White supporters fairly", he was an "opportunistic, *typical* White Southern politician" in that he could be counted upon to appear to dispense his "$50 per-Sunday contributions in every Negro church in town" for the few months before the onset of a new campaign, and "no *real* friend of the Negro here or anyone"--but, in any event, he had "wrought considerable in civic improvements--signs at the airport, housing projects, and, by all means, new street lights now all over town", and in the "city-*planning* sense, at least" was a "good mayor." White interviewees, on the other hand, appeared to be more intense in their splits which were more politically, rather than racially, partisan in character: Ben West was an *anti*-(Governor) Clement man, who was felt to harbor gubernatorial aspirations in his own right, particularly should the governor follow the urge to run for Tennessee Senator; this could mean that one was "for" or "against" West, depending upon how one reacted to the governor and his views or behavior. More than this, for other Whites here, West was "a petty politician attempting to make his own machine organization through his manipulations of his local administration's employees." In both these lights, the two leading White newspapers in town took their "sides"--one being strongly *anti*-West, the other being *pro*--in the latter case, indeed, the rumor went that, since early boyhood, West, an orphan, one interviewee claimed, had been the personal and political protegé of the publisher of the Nashville *Banner*. If true (and the rumor has not been verified), the relationship to the Negro population in Nashville is thereby further complicated in a subtle way--since, as later we shall see, the *Banner*--as against the *Tennessean*--was considered to be "rabble-rousing and definitely pro-segregationist" in its aims. For this and other possibilities of his dual allegiances, the colored community's representatives here seemed to be alert to the Mayor's responses, and suspicious in spite of recognizing many contributions he had made of indisputable worth.

These contributions, we shall see, included the appointments of Negroes to municipal offices where there had been none before, and an identification --administratively, if not always with political agreement--with the "integration" of the two Negro councilmen among the executive's legislative associates. The suggestion, however, that the "type" of Negro representatives who found most ready favor with the mayor as his supporters or appointees were inclined towards stereotyped, and frequently caricatured "Negro", behavior in public situations, again raised questions as to the quality of--rather than the mere actuality of--approved "racial" participation in politics, as far as he was personally concerned. Chief among his Negro supporters and appointees, for instance, was Coyness Ennix--the colored member of the school board who, as such, maintained a consistently vocal and firm stand for the hastening of local integration programs in the public schools, but who otherwise, as a lawyer, was considered by his critics to be cannily aware that this position would be continually the minority position on the Board which, evenso, would serve to "save face" for the Mayor during the overall lag, and who, as a personality, generally demonstrated pseudo-comic, "*semi*-militant" approaches to the solution of serious racial problems. Of the two colored councilmen, Looby and Lillard, in addition, each also had his local critics of instances of presumed default in the "racial" cause: To the dismay of many of his previous admirers, Looby maintained support for a gubernatorial candidate, Browning, the incumbent, in the race against Clement during which Browning made a *pro*-integration commitment, while Lillard was assailed widely by Negro "liberals" for his pleas in the Council for the maintanance of segregation on municipal golf courses as the colored population's "preference to be together with their own", or some similar sentiment. Nevertheless, beyond these, or such, singular incidents, Lillard seemed to be identified as the "practical Negro" politician, of the two councilmen, in contrast to Looby as the "fighting militant"--and, for the relationship to municipal government, it was said that Looby was definitely not the mayor's choice as a "Negro" representative. That, rather, Ennix *was* this choice, to some interviewees, implied that the city's executive could only tolerate "a Negro clown or a stooge"--while, to others, this was an unfair imputation both to the mayor and to Ennix whom they characterized, instead, as having "an unfortunate 'racial' personality, but who, otherwise, in his role on the Board, had fought hard and without evasion for integration, and nobody could say that he had not performed well, or was not sincere," in his own way.

Although, as it has been mentioned, other Negroes held places of responsibility in the municipal administrative picture, these are the three to whom references were most frequently made by the interviewees contacted, both colored and White, as having the most strategic positions. Although our interviewees in Nashville included lawyers, college professors, newspapermen, trade union men, organizational heads and civic workers, leaders and ward-workers in both political parties, on the city-county, state, or national scene, as well as men and women "of the street", the caution cannot be overlooked that these impressions are contributed by a very small segment of the city's more than 175,000 total population--of whom more than 30% are Negro. The significance of these observations, then, lies primarily in the questions they further stimulate, than in the "facts" they purport to reveal. Those questions, for our purposes here, have to do with the comparative incentives Negro voters have--in the main metropolitan centers, with the outlying county areas, of the state of Tennessee--to be concerned with political participation as citizens, in view of the different pictures of what "politics" appears to be through the involvement of both colored and White politicians.

II. MEMPHIS--IN WESTERN TENNESSEE .

"...-on-the-Mississippi ." Three times larger than Nashville, the educational center and publishing headquarters, is Memphis, the industrial seat of Shelby County--and not only largest city in Tennessee, but largest cotton market in the world, by Chamber of Commerce claims.

Although the term was not used by local interviewees to describe it, to the observing stranger Memphis, too, is "peculiar," in that, as one interviewee put it, "Geographically this is Memphis, Tennessee, but otherwise /racially/ it's Memphis, Mississippi"--at the same time that another interviewee may protest, "This city is a contradiction. (In many ways it's pretty liberal--we don't have any residential segregation, for instance. Negroes here have always lived--dispersed throughout the city without concentration in sharply defined areas." Of Memphis, in this regard, it was added by many local citizens that there was neither complete segregation nor integration,) but areas of both--in a city in which there had been no violent racial conflict for nearly a century...., but in which, during that century, there had been control of the political lives of both Negroes and Whites by the long-dominant "Crump Machine." This meant "benevolent despotism"--or mere despotism--or firm racial segregation (or...separate, but "equal...")--or a city "free of graft", or noise (National Noise Abatement Award), or surface dirt ("Cleanest City in Tennessee")--but a city in which there was a feeling of "order" and resistance to change in strong contrast to the sense of imminent movement in much of Nashville. Nashville--at the state's center, its Midlands--and Memphis, lying in the extreme southwestern corner of Tennessee, right on the high bluffs over the Mississippi River, also differ in other ways. Most readily, however, are their images distinct to the casual view as "the university-town", on the one hand, and "Crump's town" (despite "Old Man Crump"'s death and the ostensible decline of the machine during the past five years), on the other.

"Memphis-on-the-Mississippi": The word, "Memphis," the Chamber of Commerce says, meant to the Egyptians, "place of good abode," in reference to their ancient city, Memphis-on-the Nile, for which this Tennessee metropolis was named. It is also sometimes called "Bluff City," for the traditional relationship of its site to the bluff villages of the Chickasaw Indians, of the Chisca tribe, which were built, it is said, long before "coming of the first white men...Spaniards, under Hernando DeSoto, seeking gold... ." Subsequently, other Whites from France, England--and Spain--visited, traded with the Indians, and began the long fight (some against, and some with, the Chickasaws) to control the bluff territory and the Mississippi River. In 1794, John Overton, a temporary agent for Indian affairs, became interested in locating a trading post at the bluff; subsequently he gained the interest also of his intimate friend, Andrew Jackson, who, along with James Winchester, made plans as a trio for laying out the town after the Indian treaty of 1818. Because of his political position in the state, and the criticism which followed, Jackson sold the claims in the territory given to him by Overton, and later shared with Winchester, in 1823--three years before the town became incorporated in 1826, and four years after Shelby County had been established by state legislature in 1819. It was, Jackson's, however, [redacted] choice of the name, "Memphis," (as against other suggestions such as "Jackson," in tribute to him, or "Chickasaw", for the Indian tribes), that was retained for a settlement to which people from East and Middle Tennessee rapidly came. These "first settlers" of Memphis were, in turn, said to be originally from North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Alabama--Scotch-Irish, Scotch Highlanders, and Germans mainly among them--described further as "adventurers, politicians, land speculators, with thrifty farmers, merchants, and home builders." Here, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the location of Memphis apparently seemed to be particularly auspicious for the landing facilities it offered--for the barges, flatboats, and later steamboats to course up the mouth of the Wolf River--to expand the lumber industry for which Memphis also grew to become a center, and to land numerous Negro slaves.

This is today a city which served briefly as the capital of Tennessee--as a military center for Confederate forces during the "War Between the States"--in about 1861 or '62 --but it is more likely to be referred to by local devotees as "capital of the Mid-South." In Memphis, it is still said that "Federals took possession" of the city after the Civil War victory. The Reconstruction period is still referred to as "The Dark Days". During these days, in 1864, public schools were first provided for colored children--though the city had been divided into school districts since 1848, when free schools were opened under the board of managers and later placed under control of the city council--but this was not under local, but "federal" and martial law, from 1864-65. Today, Memphis is the home of one colored college--LeMoyne--which is elsewhere well known, and academically respected, but when the Chamber of Commerce here issues pieces describing highlights of the town, which always include the "White" institutions of higher learning, LeMoyne may or may not be mentioned among the significant local places to visit. In contrast to the situation in Nashville, when Fisk and Meharry are "always there", "Inside Memphis", with Chamber of Commerce direction, harbors as "Negro" contributions to be noted by visitors, "Beale Street....famous for Negro preachers and entertainers", and the blues made equally noteworthy by W. C. Handy, the native-born colored composer. LeMoyne takes its place as a part of the Memphis scene, rather than a fortuitously cosmopolitan addition to it; it is sponsored by the Congregational church, and supported greatly by northern funds, but its students are in the huge majority residents of Memphis, as are its faculty-members "settled" in--rather than transient, mobile university-appointees in--their homes in the town.

It was said by one interviewee that here the Negro population is now declining, as the White has grown--but the colored segment is still nearer 40% than not, despite the varying estimates which subsequently we shall note. Although generally this is conceived to be a population with a "place" bearing many nostalgic--or stubbornly resisted--overtones of slavery's circumstances, the same conceptions allow for the acceptable "rise" of the "Negro exceptions." Of these, too, in Memphis the evidence is striking to the traveller's eye. Negroes *generally* have no official positions here in city government, while there are individual leaders in state and national political activities--and for this participation there are proud references to long-time tradition. (This is the city in which all business was wiped out during the years following the Civil War, until 1866, when the horror of yellow fever epidemics during 1867, '73, and '78 added to the local depression and devastation. It was a Negro, however, R. R. Church, described in one journal issued by Whites a few years later as "the most representative, wealthiest, and popular man of his race in the South", who bought the first bonds of the series which restored the city financially, after bankruptcy and the surrender of its charter had brought it to the turning point in history where its modern growth could begin. R. R. Church, Sr., nominated McKinley for president in Philadelphia, and his son, Bob, Jr., was a voting delegate (not alternate, it was locally stressed, in the usual "Lily White" pattern) to every Republican national convention, from Memphis, in the years 1912 to 1940. It was "Bob Church, Jr." who became legendary as a Negro political leader who served 20 years on Tennessee's Republican State Committee, as well as serving on the national body, and who locally became a symbol of the possibilities for individual "racial advance" through his position as one of the dominant forces in the Hamilton Club (said to be a "Jewish/Negro" alliance).)

Today some Whites speak of "marvelous progress here, as against the front-page publicity" because other Negroes--dentists, doctors, nurses--in the medical field have become "quietly" accepted as members of local hospital staffs. Undoubtedly the new "E. H. Crump Memorial" hospital building for Negroes in the magnificently planned downtown medical center at the University of Tennessee is, in addition, though "separate", an architecturally outstanding structure. When the building of housing projects began in Memphis in 1938, those for Negroes began to appear in 1940--and to be named for local Negro leaders. Here, too, middle and upper-class Negro homes, privately owned, are imposingly set along clean shaded streets, and attractively appointed. Negroes *generally* in Memphis are allowed one day a year at the local fair grounds or zoo (a political campaign issue, as it developed)--while, following a stormy controversy, the City Commissioners did unanimously approve of a former Mayor's consent, with a Park Commission recommendation, that an 18-hole "White" (or municipal) golf course be opened to hold a colored tournament. (Negroes *generally* in Memphis may not ride in "White" taxis--with or without other, White, passengers, but must always ride with colored companies--but, it is said, there are some downtown stores which provide separate counters or other eating, restaurant facilities which knowing Negroes may utilize, in spite of a psychological atmosphere the general tone of which assumes the neglect of "courtesy titles" in lieu of first names for all colored paying customers. At the same time, this is a city in which there are thriving Negro businesses--Universal Life Insurance Company, among them, with admitted assets totalling more than $13,700,000 and a monthly payroll of $162,000, which alone spent around $65,000 with local business and professional men in one year from its new half-million dollar home office building in downtown Memphis. The Chamber of Commerce itself reports that, of more than 100,000 entries in the "Plant-to-Prosper" competition in Memphis and the county during 1950, 60,000 entries were Negro families. On the whole, as one interviewee put it, this *is* a city in which segregation is responsible for "glaring inequities in public facilities and service", but also for some remarkable "apparently equal examples" of great "progress" in Negro circumstances; a city in which Negroes and Whites are "still a long way from complete acceptance of one another as persons"--at the same time that there are individual Negroes whose economic and social position is admittedly superior to that of many local Whites. In Nashville, indeed, more than one "upper bracket" Negro interviewee pointed to Memphis and its "well-fixed" Negro business men's "society" as a model in civic accomplishment towards which other Tennesseeans might well attempt to move--"say what you will about the awfulness of segregation there.")

Local Government

Pro-Crump, Con-Crump? If Memphis, on the whole, gives to the stranger a "feel" of stability, slow-moving, it is in the political arena that today there have appeared hesitant breaks in the patterns of the past, towards change. Since Negroes, as we have mentioned, do not hold positions in the municipal government directly, our considerations here are as to their relationships as citizens, to whatever administration is in power, along with all other residents of the town.

That administration, in 1956, operated under the commission form of government--in contrast to Nashville's city council-mayor form--adopted in 1909. Generally this form calls for a board of commissioners, one of whom is mayor, who are elected for a four-year term, and give their entire time to official duties, while the legal affairs are conducted by a city attorney and assistants under the mayor's supervision. The four commissioners in Memphis were thought to be "liberal" as a whole, in racial views, upon their election, but two of these four, it was said, later "defaulted", and about the fifth, the Mayor, opinions were "split". Individually, the commissioners for Fire, and for Police; for Public Instruction, and Public Works and the Parks, assumed departmentalized responsibilities to the voters, while as a group it was they who made the city's laws, policies, and rules, in contrast to the duties of the mayor which here are conceived to be mostly ceremonial--with some assigned administrative duties, but no power of veto. Aided by his administrative assistant who serves an indefinite term, and need not be a local resident, the mayor may offer nominations to the Commission, whose vote on issues "ran ordinarily to 3 out of 5", with the mayor's as the decisive ballot. In Memphis, then, the "chief executive" was not the center of political leadership, but one official who shared decentralized responsibilities for the smooth consolidation of the executive and legislative branches of the local government, with four others.

Specifically, in Memphis, at the time of this study, the mayor, Edmund Orgill, was a "native son" who, nevertheless, seemed to be generally considered to be a significant figure both as an instrument to guide political affairs, and as a man. Negro interviewees who referred to him as a "good mayor, a liberal mayor" stressed that this was a "racially relative" evaluation which had led to his being swept into office on the promise of a more progressive type of government, with 70% of the Negro votes cast. He was "a rich man, from a good local family which has been in business here for a long time, and he loses money from the business by staying in politics--which he entered because he *wanted* to, not because he *had* to." He was leader in the trend to entrench the rejection of "30 years of Crump's Bossism" which, opponents of the old machine accused, had retarded initiative among both Whites and Negroes in civic life--and, as such, even the Negroes who were harboring increasing reservations as to his "sincerity" on the racial score, accepted that he was still a new kind of public official in Memphis, and a refreshing addition to the city's political growth. What one interviewee particularly deplored, evenso, was not only the mayor's lag in fulfilling some campaign promises, but the tendency, it was claimed, to "put words in people's mouths" to have it appear that "something *had* been done when everybody knew that it hadn't." That the Good Local Government League, as "the mayor's own political organization came out in a mealy-mouthed way for segregation, just like the rest of them," for many other local Negroes, to use the words of one, "really clinched it." Paralleling this negative, however, was the positive "score" of the indisputably strong stand taken by the same mayor and his Good Local Government League supporters in the holding of the public meeting to resolve the "Golf Course controversy" in a decision to allow the holding of the Negro tournament, against violent opposition of local pro-segregationists. For other reasons, and on another plane, here, as in Nashville, Negroes on the whole who were contacted seemed to feel that this mayor was "better than most", but final judgment was to be held in abeyance during the present's "watchful waiting."

Among the Whites interviewed, the feelings were considerably more intense. "Edmund Orgill is one of the finest men you'd want to know" came to be the repeated description of relatively "liberal" White citizens, to whom the mayor was a crusading independent; daring to erase from the Memphis scene "the kind of thinking that prevailed under Boss Crump", and to bring the weight of his personal economic and social status to bear upon the advance of all "progressive" measures. To such leaders, in a general sense he was an "enlightened Southerner" who, as mayor, had introduced as just one such instance, the need to rely for guidance upon such a group as his "Civic Research" unit--which his opponents, in turn, strongly criticized--and, specifically on the "Race Question" he was "sensible"--in that he was not "for integration, you understand, but he is willing to fight for all Negroes to have equal opportunities, and he thinks that individual Negroes who take advantage of their chance should have a fair break and should be respected." To these supporters, moreover, the mayor was fast moving into a martyr-like position locally for this very reason, and his political future was perilously at stake: By members of his own "social class" he was thought to be a dangerous threat to the possibility of "keeping Memphis and Shelby County Down in Dixie"; in spite of his actually "moderate" position, the blunt forthrightness of his personality was such that he did not retreat when faced with open attackers, and thus appeared to be more "traitorous" in his resistance to their approaches to criticism than his views, under keener analysis, might altogether imply. Among such attackers, one White citizen who had observed the mayor's and his supporter's resistance against pro-segregationists at the "Golf Course" meeting, declared, in fact, that, at the very outset of his career,

> "In the last election Orgill was just brutal--a rude, nasty, awful man! One thing he brought into the election was Integration--and I want you to know that what I can't stand about him is that he spoke from two sides of his mouth. I'm in politics, too. Some of my friends and I followed him around, stayed on the outskirts of some crowds where he'd be talking to the 'liberals' or the Negroes, and then we'd see what he said when he talked to Us. In meetings of White people, he would talk one way, and on the radio, when they'd all be listening, he would censor what he said. That's the way he acted in that election which got him into office, but as far as I'm concerned, he won't have a chance to win by talking out of both sides of his mouth in the next one, again."

That the mayor was relatively "liberal", and yet also "cautious", there appears to be little doubt, as his term in office developed. It has been clear, by their testimony and experience, that to individual Negroes of competence or stature in his city he accords friendly as well as courteous respect; that he is a man who appreciates action, and achievement, as such, is given indiscriminately its just due. It is also clear that he is aware of growing opposition--of a bitterness and intensity among local Whites who impinge upon both his family-social and business-economic interests--and that he is not certain enough of the "merits of either case" to take completely the side of either. He has been flooded with White Citizens' Councils literature, for instance, which purports to carry valid statistics as to the preponderance of both crime and venereal disease, and of "immorality" or illegitimacy, in the Negro populations of variously comparable cities--and while he is intellectually sophisticated enough to be aware of the "vicious circle" of economic and social and educational discrimination as causative influences, he is political realist enough to question whether or not the "facts" of the present do not warrant "decent White people...in not wanting their children to go to school with just any Negroes of such backgrounds"--thus, integration, but not "separation with equality", must be negated. The Commissioner of Police, in his administration, under whom Negro policemen in colored neighborhoods also served, made it unmistakably clear that he was "for segregation--as for equal but separate facilities, but not for social equality"--and there was only one commissioner, in fact, the officer for Parks, who was known definitely to be in disagreement. The Police commissioner had never been popular in the colored community, but the Negro vote had helped the other three gain office, as it had helped the mayor himself. He wanted to be "progressive"; his political future seemed to be increasingly fragile, and the prospect of reelection to be threatened; although he was not certain that he would try again, if he did he wanted, naturally, to win--and he needed both the local Negro, and more "liberal" local Whites to grow away from the traditionalists, if he finally effected a generally improved Good Local Government.

Most of all, for this mayor, there was the goal of eliminating all vestiges of the patterns of operating the old Crump Machine--and here there was indeed the difficult problem. In Memphis, a great many "good citizens" are still apologists for Crump, whose "mistakes" or "boners" are widely acknowledged, but whose one impetus was conceded to be the making of a better city. For instance, a newspaper editor said, that although the "machine outgrew its usefulness...,"

> "For thirty years the government of Memphis was by 'bossism'--this was the type of thinking that prevailed under 'Boss Crump', who had his selected Negro representatives who helped him in retarding initiative among Negroes in civic life. ...But not only Negroes--the people in Memphis as a whole were weak and spiritless when he came on the scene. In the early years crime was rampant, health conditions were at a low ebb; the form of government imposed upon the county was archaic and obsolete--and ignored by the state. Memphis was ripe for some 'strong man' leadership, and Crump, who was keen and canny, saw his political opportunity, and seized upon it.
>
> "He cleaned up crime, improved health conditions, developed a city which has grown in the state with respect. When some people profited, that fortified his leadership--and you can see some of the effects still today when the people defeated the Good Local Government League when, among other things, it stressed the Hatch Act, to prevent such benefits to city employes through the 'machine', in its platform. There's no meat on that 'Hatch Act' bone...! Segregation, you see, was only one factor in Crump's regime, although the average person of intelligence among Negroes recognized its importance. But the economy of Memphis--it can't be ignored--Crump contributed to it, to make it outstanding among cities of its size in America. For a long time it has been recognized as one of the cleanest cities in America. Negroes here are also aware of the entire system, which must be seen for an accurate evaluation of the situation. In politics under Crump 'the race' got no state positions whatever--but out of 13 things Negro leaders asked for, for the people generally, Crump saw to it that they got 11... ."

One such "Negro leader" who seemed to be generally identified as "Mr. Crump's favorite...", and who expressed no reservations over being quoted in this light, is the principal of the Booker T. Washington High School, Prof. H. Blair Hunt. Upon Crump's death, Prof. Hunt, who is also a minister, and pastor of the local Negro Christian church, eulogized the political leader, in a column which he writes for one of the two Negro newspapers, in these terms:

> "There was granite in his [Crump's] nature and there was likewise exquisite tenderness. He was ruggedly true to his character, yet

he was wondrously compassionate... . The building of a Greater Memphis became his magnificent obsession... ."

In an interview during the course of this study, two years later, Prof. Hunt, who described himself as "born from the womb...nursed from the breast of Memphis--when I die I want to be in the tender embraces of Memphis...!", further concluded that "Boss" Crump was "the most misrepresented...greatest...philanthropist I have ever known! ...He was a benevolent dictator. Not perfect, no doubt about it, for I am his friend, and I speak true. But, although he was a segregationist, this might be expected, as 99% of White citizens are. In their hearts, few would fail to defy the Constitution in order to maintain the status quo. After all, it's just a matter of choice only--some people feel they have the right to like lemon pie, while you may like apple pie--it's just a matter of choice... ." The important factor in Mr. Crump's case, the principal surmised, was that before his time, 99% of the local White citizens did not expect facilities for Negroes in town to be "equal." "We had had the 'separate but equal' Decision of the Supreme Court since 1896," he pointed out, "but we hadn't lived up to it. We still don't, but under Mr. Crump Memphis became moreso than others... ." That the school which the professor heads has "more vocational program than any--White or Colored--in town--with courses in brick-making, cosmetology, radio repairing, wood-working, and the like, with all modern equipment" is cited as a testament of his success as a "practical politician" under this system. Quite generally, however, the judgment of local Negro interviewees was that "Mr. Hunt has never used politics for himself--he just knew how to 'work' Crump and the machine to improve things for his people."

Such "success," another local citizen pointed out, could be expected under this local administration in Memphis, for, it was here said,

> "Crump generally had the interests of the city at heart. He was certainly not a 'Hague'--under his rule this city was as 'free of graft' as any in America. This he would not tolerate. He was a typical Southerner in his attitude toward the Negro. He saw him as having a definite place--but *within* that place should be granted good facilities for Negro use...but always separate. Good schools, parks, playgrounds we have here because he would *do for*, but *not with* the Negro. Race and the general picture, however, must always be interrelated. Even among Whites, it must be kept in mind, this was a government in which *Mr. Crump* dictated more or less what went... ."

With the change, under the victory of Mayor Orgill's Good Local Government League, after Crump's death, it was felt that there had been a "bit of relief" from this dictatorship for both White and Colored citizens, through the new "progressive type of government" for which support had been gathering during the past five years. Crump's forces themselves had suffered one strong political defeat during the 1948 campaign, in the triumph of anti-machine candidates led by Kefauver and Browning. But, within the past five or six months before the August 2 primary and general election, competitive groups had been forming as successor to the Crump organization, as "Citizens for Progress", supported also by Citizens Councils, the Federation for Constitutional Government, and Pro-Southerners, centering their fire on the segregation issue and attempting to identify it with the new mayor's administration, despite contrary evidence. The mayor was in a position, therefore, where he was attempting to hold to the "separate but equal" sentiments of the "Old Regime" shorn of the practical benefits which it, nevertheless, "generously" distributed. With Negroes as well as Whites, he stood increasingly in the unpleasant "middle" of "worsening relations", as one interviewee put it, with a "tightening of communication between both sides--which once, in the old days, at least, had been fairly easy."

The Common Problem--Jackson; Brownsville

In Western Tennessee, there was no doubt about it, Segregation or Integration was a definite political issue--among those citizens, who in themselves proved to be a minority, who were concerned enough to "get out and vote." Subsequently we shall speak of the particular suffrage problems within the counties immediately surrounding Memphis--in Stewartville and the neighboring areas. Eighty-five miles northeast of Memphis, however, and 142 miles west of Nashville, there is Jackson, in Madison County the seat, which is known as the "Hub City of West Tennessee," and is the geographic center of this region. Important Federal, State, and county courts are located in Jackson, to serve all of Western Tennessee, and here, too, there is a commission form of government as in Memphis. Local heroes here, from the traditions, are Andrew Jackson--for whom the town was named after Madison County had been officially created in 1821; Davy Crockett; and--Casey Jones, to whose memorable exploits a local museum is established. "Largest city between Memphis and Nashville," an area of diversified farming, a trade and industrial center grown from a "river town" cotton depot to boast in 1956 of maintaining a "balanced economy for abiding prosperity," Jackson is also the home of Lane College, a Colored Methodist Episcopal institution with an enrollment of 375 young Negroes--while Lambuth and Union Universities are the colleges for Whites. Its Chamber of Commerce pieces tell of its proximity to the T. O. Fuller State Park for Negroes, a wooded area on the Chickasaw Bluffs near Memphis, as to the Shelby Forest State Park, nearby, but for Whites. There is here, too, the "one Negro programmed radio station--the only one in West Tennessee outside Memphis--WJAK". But, along with all this, also "racial segregation is high on the list of problems confronting" local leaders.

In March of this year, in fact, Southern School News reported that it was in Jackson that 25 mayors and other city officials from West Tennessee towns and municipalities met, to protest their disinclination to conform with the Supreme Court's ruling that Negroes be allowed the use of city playgrounds and parks. This was also the time when the operator of the local Dr. Pepper Bottling Company plant reported that "12 or 13" Negro merchants in town had cancelled their accounts with his firm, because he, M. C. Jolly, was among the sixteen leaders of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government who were listed as plaintiffs in the suit seeking to bar state aid to Austin Peay College for admitting two Negro students. One Negro merchant, Isaiah Savage, in turn, who was an open member of the NAACP, declared that the boycott was a spontaneous movement. Unlike Brownsville, the center for the large rural Negro population nearby, Jackson has many of the earmarks of the southern city--where Negroes can resist, and Whites can protest, and on both sides there can be found contradictory racial reactions.

In Memphis, indeed, a white woman interracial leader, to whom many Negroes there attributed the desire to be "The Great White Mother for The Race--we have three of them here, and she is one..."--this interviewee protested, in fact, that both Jackson and Brownsville should be reconsidered as areas of quiet, but increasing, change. Elsewhere in the state, these two communities were continuously pointed to as examples where Negroes could not be expected to have participated in local government or politics at all, on any formal basis. Informally, on the other hand, there were said to be individual Negroes and Whites who did "wield influence" upon each other, and who did serve to get whatever was accomplished, done. In Brownsville, for instance, in Hardaman County where Negroes' attempts at voting have been thoroughly quenched by intimidation-pressures since the early 1940's, everyone knows the name of the Negro undertaker, C. A. Rawls (intermittently referred to by numerous interviewees as "Qualls"), and that he is "the man to be talked to if something concerning 'the race' comes up." In this rural center, which was named for one of the county's products, Gen. John Brown, heroic Revolutionary War figure, the years following its founding in 1865 were marked, moreover, by the accepted participation of Negroes in local politics. There are historical memories of a Negro senator named Sam Mikelwaite, of a Negro who was once elected sheriff--and whose tenure was marked by such strict law enforcement that the Brownsville Whites thereby resolved to prevent another such colored office-holder from gaining this power; there was Pat Hall, a city policeman; and there was a William Winfield, who was said to have been registrar of Hardaman County at one time for seven years--for four or five years in Charlie Bailey Square recording deeds by proxy;to be recorded in long-hand by a friend who could write, but dictated by the registrar himself, who could not. Today, when such memories were recalled, they were defensively pointed to by some Negroes as well as Whites as indications that the present circumstances had changed in form, but that the relationships beneath the outer patterns of segregation and exclusion of Negroes in political life were not as rigid as they appeared--"as long as outsiders leave it to people who know each other to handle things"--the persistent cry. In one instance in this area, a Negro leader complained that, although the nearest step to colored participation in anything approaching local government for years had been the possibility of achieving a bonded Negro notary public, this possibility had seemed imminent, after months of painstaking preparation with the "right" White people--until an itinerant, or at least roving, editor of a Negro publication came through, "looked at a few things on the run, talked with a few people, then shot off his mouth too much in his paper about conditions here which made the White people mad--and so we don't get our notary public." Local Negroes had had important statuses as well as roles, before, and they could have it again, such complainants comment, if the situation were only properly "sized up": In this light, a colored interviewee declared,

> "In the city--like in Jackson--Negroes can have an NAACP, and the people out at the college, and a lawyer like Attorney Ballard, to help them fight, even though, even there, they've got to be careful. In the rural areas, though, we've got to 'know our people' well enough to realize that the white people are going to get the offices in running things, but we can get what we want by working behind the scenes. You may think that because we don't have the name, we're not getting anywhere, but we see changes all the time for the better because we get it done quietly, our way. We don't talk about it, because it's talking about it that makes the crackers mad. We let them have the offices, if that's so important to them, as long as we get what we really want and need, just the same..."

Similarly, a white interviewee exclaimed, "No blanket will cover everybody--Jackson, Brownsville, or anywhere--and it's time outsiders who come around reporting about 'The South' recognize this. There's a lot goes on in these places that makes up for the fact that some people don't vote, or get to be mayor--that's just because the White people are outnumbered--what else can they do...? Now, you take the case of Clarksdale, Miss., and the Emmett Till situation--you heard all about that--but did you ever hear about what happened at Laurel, Miss., right near there? Well, in Laurel, there is a White woman who made it possible for Negroes to have the singer, Leontyne Price; everybody calls that White woman 'Mrs. Elizabeth,' and Leontyne Price's mother is her cook. That colored girl learned to sing right in that White lady's Mississippi home. And I will have you know that after Leontyne Price went North, and was trained in Voice with that 'southern White lady's money', she returned to Mississippi a famous singer, and the local newspaper right there in Laurel, Miss., carried a photo of 'Mrs. Elizabeth' sitting at the grand piano in her living room and accompanying Leontyne Price in a song--but that never became a 'big story', even though those things happen in the South, too, all the time. In all these places it's a spot here, and a spot there, and it's wonderful--and with one over here and another over there--and it sticks...well, you have progress, but it all depends. It's the people in the particular groups you get hold of that makes the difference... ."

...And Western Tennessee--"Mississippi..."

Unlike Nashville, then, the "peculiarities" of Memphis and the Western Tennessee region lie in the strange ambivalences of both Negroes and Whites as to the formal acceptance of "separate but equal" as a cultural life-way, at the same time that there are apologies and defenses in the protested informal "understandings" and "good interracial relationships" despite the system. Unmistakably there were Negroes in leadership in Memphis and elsewhere who spoke firmly and openly for "civil rights", in defiance of sentiments for segregation: Of such leaders we shall speak more fully within the discussion of the general problem of economic dependency--or relative independence, to come. But, in Western Tennessee the impression is more startling of a strange and contradictory "tolerance" for segregationists, both Colored and White, on the whole--and with this a resignation to the indication that the cities themselves are to be "run" politically by Whites Only.

In August, in Memphis, Southern School News reported neighboring state, Mississippi's Senator James O. Eastland's appearance at a public rally sponsored by the Citizens Councils of Shelby County, Pro-Southerners, Federation for Constitutional Government, and "We, The People," as four anti-integration groups--and the senator's charge that the U. S. Supreme Court had ruled, in effect, that the Communist Party was not a subversive organization, that the Court "has woven a web of protection around the Communist Party," and that, quite generally "the pro-communist decisions of the Supreme Court have aroused all of the American people to the dangers of the present course of the Court." In the same month, a Negro newspaper published in Mississippi, but also distributed in Memphis, commented on a similar senatorial performance, in its editor's column,

> "...Ye editor did not like the speech made by Senator Eastland Wednesday, not at all. However, before we go into this, let us say that we expect to vote for him in the forthcoming election because we believe he can do more for Mississippi than can his opponent. We trust, with a little prayerful thought, calling on a sense of justice innate in gentlemen, he may see clearer on the subjects that riled us... ."

It must be pointed out that this editorial did not appear in a Memphis journal, but in one published in the state which is said strongly to represent Western Tennessee's general culture and sentiments. That the same pattern of rationalization can be observed in Eastern Tennessee, however, in leadership which responds to a sense of White dominance accordingly, will be seen in the next discussion--though, in this region such open reactions appeared to be more exceptional than the rule.

III. KNOXVILLE AND CHATTANOOGA--IN EASTERN TENNESSEE .

Knoxville--"Playground of Eastern America."

Of Knoxville, indeed, one Negro interviewee said at the outset,

> "Here..., in East Tennessee, we have Virginians, North Carolinians, Tennesseeans from other parts of the state, and Georgians, but also--and especially since Oak Ridge--we have had an influx in the population from both North and South all over again in recent years. We've always had a better climate of liberality here. For one thing, it's the topography of

> our land. We've never been suited for plantations or large slave-holdings even in the old days. Plus--there're our type of settlers--from Pennsylvania, the North, who came first *via* North Carolina, in the division before the War Between the States. We selected the Union Side. There were few Negroes. The mountaineers were individualistic, opposed to slavery. In East Tennessee, the Franklin State, Governor Blount's home, we were *via* North Carolina... . We are still the South, but not as aggressive... ."

Less than half the size of Memphis, and hardly two-thirds as large as Nashville, Knoxville is a "small town" in comparison to these centers of Western and Middle Tennessee, with a relatively small Negro population, still, accordingly. Lying in the center of East Tennessee, in the region's upper part, however, it is the largest trade city in an area noted for burley tobacco and marble; largest in retail sales through its department stores and downtown shops.

When Tennessee was once called the "Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio"--as early as 1790--White's Fort, present site of Knoxville, became first capitol of the Territory, with William Blount of North Carolina as the first appointed Governor. General James White, who built White's Fort as the first residence in Frontier days, named the city, which he founded, in honor of General Henry Knox, secretary of War in President Washington's cabinet. In 1796, when "Territory...South" became the State of Tennessee, it was Knoxville that became the first state capital, remaining so until 1811. Here, as, at times it seems, through the state, lived Andrew Jackson, and here, too, to the names of Blount, White, and John Sevier as local historical figures, is frequently added that of Davy Crockett in memorabilia. In religion, this was at first a Presbyterian town, the first church organization being founded of that denomination in 1792--also the year when the Knoxville *Gazette*, the first newspaper published in Tennessee, and the second west of the Appalachian Mountains, moved its headquarters here. Today this is a city of more than 250 churches, with an estimated total membership above 100,000, representing 20 faiths and denominations. It is the home of the University of Tennessee, with its dogwood-lined streets, along which Negro students now move with Whites, as it is also the home of Knoxville College--which is generally known to be for Negroes, under the sponsorship of the Presbyterians, but which is frequently mentioned in Chamber of Commerce pieces here--as is also the *Independent Call*, the colored weekly newspaper--without racial identification.

Local citizens in Knoxville, in fact, point pridefully to the singular emphasis here in these Chamber of Commerce materials on the Civil War's fateful year of 1860 as a time when political discussion in this part of East Tennessee was "less over slavery than over secession". The contention is confirmed that the people did not depend heavily on slavery, and were farmers or merchants--like the pioneers Nathaniel and Samuel Cowan, and Hugh Dunlap--for the most part. Today, in the Negro population, the name "Cowan" has a familiar ring, in that it is also that of a leading colored attorney and political figure for whom the county's "Carl Cowan Park" for Negroes on Loudoun Lake has been called. In these earlier times, tradition-minded residents would have us believe, such an honor for a living Negro may not have been foreseen, but would not have been held unlikely, in that it is true that when excitement over secession of the other Southern states split the people here into two groups, the result of an election during which "Liberty" flags waved with the "Stars and Stripes" *was* decided victory for the Unionists, in East Tennessee as a whole. (When Tennessee, the state, went for the Confederacy with a total of 105, 379 votes *for* secession, of the 47,233 votes *against*, 30,000 came from East Tennessee. On the other hand, where in Knox County the majority vote was also against, the "peculiarity" here was that in Knoxville, the city, itself, the vote was 777 to 377 in favor, and the town became the Confederate stronghold of the region. Actually, it thus became center of this region's strategic linkage between North and South, during the siege in which Confederate losses were heavy, and Union forces were permanently established at Knoxville (as well as at Chattanooga) after the city had been successfully defended. Now this has become a community in which, in 1956, it was said, both Negroes and Whites strove for a merited reputation of "fairness" in interracial relations with such intensity to "uphold the laws regardless of race" in a calm and easy manner, that neither Segregation nor Integration could be introduced as a political issue without harmful effects for their proponents. To this attitude a large percentage of the population has become accustomed after generations of mutual acceptance as natives, while to the transients, or temporary residents who come to Knoxville because, as the gateway to the Great Smoky Mountains Park--the most popular, it is said, in the number of visitors in the country--this is called also the "playground of Eastern America", and not the Eastern Tennessee seat of a southern state, at all.

Local Government--and Negro Participation

In Knoxville, there is a mayor-council form of government, as in Nashville. In elections, it is frequently said, the county of Knox is Democrat, the city of Knoxville is Republican, and they cooperate as well as compete on various offices. Since the New Deal, the Republicans' consistent hold over the region as a whde has been punctured through the inroads of unpredictable "grass roots" Democratic victories, but the fact that there remains a strong two-party system, local observers pointed out, "makes it good as far as the racial factor is concerned, for each side wants the Negro vote, and there's less opposition to participation than where there is only one party and it's sure of winning anyhow." The situation is such that in the county, the sheriff's office, for instance, went Democratic this year, and all other offices important for election but one--that of Superintendent of Schools, won by a Republican woman. In the city, most of the city councilmen were Democrats, but the county helped a Republican Mayor win for the first time, in a race against a "liberal" Democrat. Although people here speak of the vote for "the man" as more important than party affiliation, others complained that, in the sheriff's race, it was a "good Republican" who was beaten by a Democratic sheriff--in a situation where stringency of law enforcement against various racketeering enterprises was an equally vital, though covert, consideration for some voters. Politics here is "really unpredictable... ."

In any event, for the concerns of this study, what is significant is that, whatever local government is, here Negroes participate in "mixed" situations with apparent acceptance and little disturbance to other White citizens. Carl Cowan, the attorney, serves on the staff of the Attorney General, and as one of the two Negro Assistant District Attorneys in the entire South; in Knoxville the boast arises frequently that he was "the first." The County Solicitor's office is now said to have a "general mixture" for the first time, just as there are a Judge of the City Court, two Negro detectives, and 15 policemen of the total of 187, a Negro fire company, and 2 of 9 deputy sheriffs. Although there have been Negro deputy sheriffs "for years," there lingers some gossip that there is some "feeling" against their being too aggressive in the arrest of (rather than the mere detaining of) law-breaking Whites. The important qualification, however, is that in Knoxville the opinion comes forcefully from Negroes that, though discrimination exists and prejudice may be felt, "white people here are shamed to admit it, and they will go to all possible lengths to apologize if they think they're suspected of prejudice, to try to give some other reason for what they do; they'll never say that they believe in segregation--not in Knoxville." To bolster this view, several interviewees pointed out that no Citizens Council group, as such, was active in Knoxville, despite the fact that there "might be an understanding" among certain people, including the intellectuals in the Federation for Constitutional Government, who talk more here against the infringement of 'states' rights'."

Oak Ridge--and AEC . Similarly, in Oak Ridge, twenty five miles away from Knoxville, home of the atomic bomb but also the site of continued atomic research in medicine, agriculture, and industry--with its American Museum of Atomic Energy, open to the public as the only exhibit hall of its type in the world; In this small and highly cosmopolitan city, pro-segregationists are a limited, even if vocal, minority, in several interviewees' views. Here, people point to the fact that, in a population which includes some of the world's leading scientists along with the "common man" of both races, two Negroes have served on the Town Council, which would have been impossible without a large White as well as Negro vote; one of these, the incumbent, Dr. Albert Stewart, was a chemist with a University of Chicago background who was leaving the Atomic Energy Commission for a top position in private industry with Union Carbide as well, and it was frequently said that this marked the departure of a respected "councilman of *Oak Ridge*--not a *Negro* councilman." The predominant sentiments for integration in Oak Ridge were not implemented without struggle, however, for also in the history of the community is the memory of a bitter intellectual conflict over this issue in the public schools, which eventually terminated in the resignation of another White councilman, Waldo Cohen, despite his nominal leadership victory. In any case, it was no less stressed, politically-influenced problems here were "*fought out in the open* among the people, by the people, and for the people of the community; we control ourselves in Oak Ridge, instead of being controlled by political bosses."

The problem before the community, which has now become the largest city in the county, so that, politically, it was said, "As Oak Ridge goes, so goes Anderson County", was to establish a pattern for local administration on the whole, in view of the Federal Government's withdrawal and the imminent need for municipal incorporation, or some form of city self-government. Under the disposal law AEC will end community services in four years, and either an existing city government must assume responsibility for utilities and such services as schools, streets, and police protection, or the utilities will be sold and the services turned over to some such political entity as the county. It is the next four years which will tell the general story, but many Negroes were concerned with the pressure to buy or release formerly Federal government-owned housing within 90 days at the time of this study. What part if any, the already-declining colored population will play as citizens of a "new" Oak Ridge, much less as leaders in local government, must therefore remain conjecture at this point.

TVA

...and ALCOA . Beyond its proximity to the plant-"city" of the Aluminumium Corporation of America, to most visitors the remaining point of distinction characterizing Knoxville is its position as headquarters for the Tennessee Valley Authority--as Chattanooga is the Authority's "nerve center." Like AEC, the relationship of the Authority is to the Federal, rather than the local, government, but the fact that its offices and staff are a part of the town adds to the "less than Southern" character.

Chattanooga--of Lookout Mountain . Larger than Knoxville by a few thousand in population, and third among the cities in the major positions noted here for Tennessee, is Chattanooga, lying on the southern and northern banks of the Tennessee River, near the Tennessee-Georgia line. One hundred-fifty-two miles southeast of Nashville, and 111 miles southwest of Knoxville, with which it shares significance among the urban centers of Eastern Tennessee, Chattanooga stands strategically central for nearly 8,000,000 people residing within the 200 miles between Lookout and Signal Mountains, in the heart of the Tennessee Valley and equally in the Cumberland Plateau.

In historical times this was Cherokee, Chicamauga Indian territory, and the origin of the name, "Chattanooga", has been variously described as coming from the Creek word describing Lookout Mountain as "rock coming to a point," or the word for "hawk's nest"--or "Tsatanugi", which was once used for Chattanooga Creek and the Lookout Mountain settlement--but, in any case, from the Cherokee as "one of the most civilized and enlightened of all Indian tribes," in the Chamber of Commerce's phrase. Although, in the time of the Chickamauga Expedition in 1779, Chattanooga was a military post at Ross's Landing, it was not until 1851 that it was incorporated as the City of Chattanooga, and a part of Hamilton County--named for Alexander Hamilton by the General Assembly in 1819. Today, this is a thriving insurance and industrial center, with a highly trade unionized labor force stirring its own resistances in the town; and here, too, there is a private university.

As in Knoxville, interviewees boast of the "difference" in racial relationships in the East, in contrast with the West. As one Negro leader put it,

> "Here..., throughout our history, our relationships have been very good ...from here on up, through... . Most of our White people fought in the Federal Army. Here Sherman started his march to the sea. It reflects itself in our politics--generally Republican--where the best relationships between the races exists. That's just a fact, not propaganda. From Bristol down to here, we have no trouble at all--against farther South, where it's terrible. We're against the Virginia part of Bristol, and interposition, here in East Tennessee... . Here we have many things better than White--swimming pools, Winthrop Park, finest in the South. ...Our main trouble is that Chattanooga is also the gateway out of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida--for transient Negro workers who had to be careful at home, live under a curfew and things like that, and they don't know yet how to really take advantage of some of the advantages we really have. They think we're...'Up North' here... ."

In Southern School News for June, this report is amended by the facts that although there are also Negro policemen, supervisors of work crews and foremen of both Negroes and Whites in the industrial plants, and one Negro woman sales clerk in the downtown shopping district--in spite of the fact that Chattanooga "is in the southeast of Tennessee far removed from what are called that state's 'Black Belt' counties", that it "borders on the hill country of North Georgia," and is "only a short distance from North Alabama", does not mean an elmination of "Deep Southern attitudes" from these regions "characterized by a scarcity of Negroes." It is here that there are active Daughters of the Confederacy as well as a League of Women Voters and United Church Women--at the same time that there are strong pro-segregationist, and yet trade union-affiliated, forces--as, similarly , some Negroes live among Whites in the most exclusive, as well as the poorer, residential sections. Here, as elsewhere in the state, there is "progress," but also there are contradictions.

Local Government--Negro Participation

In Chattanooga, in fact, there seems to be a concatenation of characteristics marking distinctly the picture of the other three cities. As in Nashville and Knoxville, there is "liberality" of local government, as far as Negroes are concerned, and there is more aggressive interest in Negro participation, with an acceptance that this can and should be so: Chattanooga has not been as successful as either of these two cities, but Negroes have run for offices in the city--as Commissioner, for the Courts, and the like--and they figure actively through "political bosses" or civic leaders in the local political campaigns, as we shall see. As in Memphis, here there is a commission form, with a mayor and four commissioners, although in Hamilton County there is a county manager, and as in Memphis and Nashville, the present mayor is a Democrat whom Negro votes helped to win. As in Memphis, also, Negroes have been disappointed in the performances of Commissioners on the racial issue. And, as in Knoxville, this is a city in which the sheriff's race is politically--and racially--important, for this is said to be a "rackets town." It is also a town in which many interviewees declared that, other claims to the contrary, most Negroes voted Democratic--and most Whites. And, when the elections occurred--"in their own districts, our people run things, they hold the offices, and are appointed by Negro leaders as their 'boss.'"

Nation, Region, State, and the Localities

The Supreme Court Decision?

That there were contradictions in Tennnessee politics was not uninfluenced by the vagaries of the national political scene--in a year in which a new president would be elected by Democrats or Republicans, with this as a pivotal state. That Tennessee was "South" meant that "civil rights" and "states' rights" and the implementation--with haste or lag--of the U. S. Supreme Court School Desegregation Decision became local issues with far more than local implications for the Negro vote. If Nashville was the key city in Middle Tennessee, it was also capital of the state--and here, the actions of Democratic Governor Clement, and his commitments as Party Convention keynoter, were considered to be as relevant to the responses of local Negro voters as those of the mayor, Ben West. If, in Memphis, it was a foregone conclusion that the only meaningful election-results on the local scene were those affecting Democratic candidates in the primaries, it was not insignificant that for the national picture, on the "civil rights" issue alone the Negro vote nevertheless "went Republican." If, in Brownsville, the racial lines of subtle and open intimidation were quietly felt to be tightening, the answer followed, "They're all scared about that Integration decision--it's the first thing a white man ask you around here now if you're colored--he want to know, 'how you feel 'bout that Integration'?" If in Oak Ridge, Integrated schools succeeded, people said, it would be "proof" for all of Tennessee--and it was a certainty that in Nashville, where there was a plan to proceed, but with utmost gradualism; that in Memphis, where resistance was firm and violent; in Knoxville, where there was openly "no progress, but they really want the NAACP to start a suit, so we can have an excuse to 'get going'"; and in Chattanooga--where there had been spontaneous intent of the School Board to integrate, but a withdrawal into a vaguely projected "at least five-year postponement" upon attacks from pro-segregationists: (It was certain that all of Tennessee was watching Oak Ridge--and nearby Clinton, in the same Anderson County--as a cue to the need for identification or not with the national trend.)

What this study will show, as we move on now to a review of the actual voting performance and registration of these comparative populations, is the significance of the interdependence of national, regional, state, and locality sentiments upon each other. The performance is but a symbol for the relative weights of these ideas--as they, in turn, are matched with the picture of citizenship responsibility and commitment as indicated here, generally. As we proceed, we will attend further to the figures, but also to what relationships and responses appeared to have made them come to be.

The Supreme Court Decision's impact, it will be demonstrated, will figure throughout the discussions that follow, but it will not be detached from the influences of these multiple influences, as they were expressed in each of the populations comparatively.

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The Impact of Trade Unions

> "...One thing about the 'race problem' in the South: It is obvious that unionization is for their benefit--it has real bearing on the problems of both Negroes and poor Whites. That is the reason that in some of these political campaigns in the South there is a 'slowing down' on the 'race issue' directly, while every effort is made to beat Labor. Particularly in those areas--here in Tennessee, as elsewhere--where there is a depressed agricultural economy, it has conditioned the thinking of the 'poor Whites' against bolstering the Negro economy, so that in the nearby towns they want to see a kind of 'Negro' contract kept for lower-paid workers, too. Some of these little towns have become the 'war babies' of the South--gloomy little towns with declining industry after the war, and more and more competition for the jobs left, which makes a new kind of economy-money-segregation relationship for the people who 'boss' the industries as well as for Labor and Liberalism in regard to the Negro/White issue. If the people with responsibility try to keep the local economy up with segregation, more and more they are finding that it now takes extra money to do that, because of the outside pressures of today's trend--look at Powell and the school situation, as another kind of example, even where new schools were needed they will be held up through such moves as his 'segregation' rider, and even where people want to fight it, that takes money again. I don't know what kind of Pandora's Box is being opened up for what should be a relationship between Labor and Liberalism now, but I do know that there is a lunatic fringe growing in the Labor movement of segregationists, and many people are included in it who have once worn liberal veneers; that hurts, but they have the same old fears, you find when you talk to them, 'what will happen to white women...' if the Negro is able to make money--all this makes them a voting bloc, all for this economic pressing down... ."

"Labor" Equals "Liberal"? The assumption that wherever there were trade unions in Tennessee, there a bulwark for "liberal" voting would stand on issues affecting Negro desegregation was one of the first to come tumbling down during the course of this study. The interviewee who has just been quoted was not a native of this state--young, White, and a Harvard graduate of recent vintage, he was a newspaperman temporarily undertaking an assignment in Middle Tennessee. Among other persons, however, whose acquaintance with Tennessee's problems was long-term, there was agreement with the stranger's views that the voting performance of Labor--including members and leaders both Negro and White--could no more be predicted than the state's as a whole.

In Eastern Tennessee, a woman leader of the local NAACP commented,

> "We get some help from trade unions, but not too much. Integration-efforts are approved by most of the national leaders, but it's up to the public relations man in each city as to how far the local group can go, and here the attitude seems to be mainly 'but...' and 'not yet...' . "

An official in the state Trade Union council could point to pieces of anti-discrimination literature directed to his group's attention, through the Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department of the United Automobile Workers, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO, with headquarters in Detroit. Offset reprints of a report in the New York

Daily News, of Nov. 22-26, 1955, under the by-line of "James Dismond," pointed to the "New Cross Afire in Dixie...", at the same time that the newsletter of the union's national public relations department spoke of the progress in Integration in 20 states, and a third piece--offset from the magazine, Color, for January 1956--described "How the UAW Practices What It Preaches--Sets Example for Nation", with illustrated photographs including that of Walter Reuther's Negro secretary and her 'boss.' To the "Liberals" in the local offices, such reports apparently bore meaning in their bolstering of convictions already held that desegregation could work, but such convictions were not necessarily considered to be immediately applicable to the local situation. In Chattanooga, for instance, where, on the one hand, a university professor could point to the increase of trade unionism in his part of the state as a whole, and to the Mayor's election with definite Union backing in the city, a prominent Negro attorney could also bewail the fact that Labor--as "Liberal"--could add many of its members now to a "group tottering ...confused and as helpless in deciding just what to do next as people who don't swim, plunged into an ocean without life-belts, and sinking in pandemonium." In this case, the description was said to apply to many Negroes, generally, but to White "Liberals" as well, including the unionists.

Indeed, in Western Tennessee's Memphis, a prominent Negro educator said bluntly that "the Labor Vote in Tennessee is a fictional term." The history of Negro/White labor relations in the state had been marked by the tradition of differential wage rates because of the continuing migrations of Negroes from the rural, county, farm areas--having the expected differentials in training, skills, and experience for many unionized jobs--and this tradition still lingered as an ideal for many White workers. In one interviewee's opinion, one such "pocket of Negro resistance" existed in a local International Harvester plant, as an example, in spite of that company's marked record for introducing and maintaining "liberal" racial work practices in many of its plants throughout the South. (Integration, which had initially been accepted by management, had been retarded at certain levels by Labor; white men who for years had worked side by side with Negroes as "helpers," say, at a welding machine--now resisted association with these "helpers" as union "brothers", sharing the same saw dust in economic equality. When this issue would arise, the educator emphasized, "it's race with race in Labor's White rank and file, smack against their leaders.) Leaders are important in putting forth ideas as to the direction of the vote--how they'd like to see it go--as a resolution, but when it comes to predicting the workers' action they can't lead them anywhere; they'll go as they want to go:" Although the local Urban League had been working on this problem at International Harvester in Memphis, it was not yet resolved--as a case in point. In both the AFL and CIO, a White woman civic leader indicated, there were active trade unionists for social welfare and related concerns through which Negroes could benefit, as "charity", who would find it difficult, nevertheless, to flaunt the opposition of their groups in giving colored workers opportunities for self-help through job equality.

(On the other hand, in Nashville, not only were some Negro trade unionists aligned with Whites in political action as well as on their jobs, but with assurances from both Ford and DuPont that integrated work-forces would be continuing policies, one interviewee felt strongly that here there was a "good consciousness as well as a control of the politics of power" in an "understanding Labor group, especially from the section which was CIO before the merger--which was not yet very real here with the AFor L.") In Chattanooga, it was declared, the struggle must now come between "the young versus the middle-aged--the powerful people in the county versus the city." That Labor's aim must be "to have people recognize what is 'Liberal'" was considered to be the next step in preparing for a larger balloting, but also a more enlightened performance in view of desegregation's crucial cause. As a newspaper editor in Memphis put it, "Labor and the value of politics are linked with education, the economy of the community, and the workers' striving to gain or to maintain personal status within it--they are all factors influencing each other, and that's what makes prediction difficult."

A "Bloc" Vote? In no case could this appear to be truer than when a "Labor" man should run for public office. The Labor Journal, as the official organ of the Tennessee State Labor Council and all Locals in the CIO, was said to be the largest Labor paper in the South, and was published in Memphis. Here, in the July, 1956, issue, for instance, it was noted that "Five Memphis Union Men /were in the/ Race for /the/ Legislature," and particular space was given to the campaign of the Negro Independent Democratic candidate, James L. Walker, as well as to that of White candidate, Victor Ellis, president of the Industrial Union Council, and campaigning for Floterial Representative from Davidson County, Nashville. With Nashville as headquarters for the Tennessee State Labor Council, with two dynamic leaders in Stanton Smith, its president, and Matt Lynch, the secretary, on hand to spur interest in his campaign by a "good" Labor group in this city in which Negroes and Whites worked together strenuously to "get out the vote," Ellis won decidedly in the contests of this election. In contrast, the failure of Walker in Memphis was noted with marked interest throughout the state, as a signal instance of not only the lack of significant Negro support in a "bloc" vote in some areas, but of conclusive Labor backing as well. Long active in his union, a member of the Tennessee Federation of Labor's Executive Council after having held local offices, and active in civic and community affairs, his first attempt to run for office in politics found his own union dilatory in its support--for although he was a "strong Labor man," a "Democrat," and a fighter, he was also a Negro, and the ranks of Labor were as split between workers "Liberal" or "Conservative/'Reactionary'" on this issue as those of the community at large:

> "Whether Walker was as well prepared as he might have been educationally is not the point," one interviewee said, "he was as fit as some of those CP candidates, and yet the important thing was that he was a colored man. There's no point in evading the fact that on this question 'workers' are just 'people of their community.' If the community is all for keeping its customs 'down in Dixie,' there may be a few brave union people who will try to fight against the tide, but most people are not that brave, they will follow the lead of the majority. It cannot yet be said that you can count on Labor as a 'Liberal Bloc' in political action generally down here, but you certainly can't count on it when the race issue enters in. A man is 'union', but he may be also 'Southern', and 'White', and you can't bank on the first being more important than the others."

In one instance, however, Labor made a substantial showing behind the candidacy of Lee Case, the Rumbers' Union member, a commissioner of Labor, and a late entry in the race for the state Senate which enlivened the Chattanooga scene. From an industrial union, this candidate came with issues which necessarily raised questions of different significance in county and city, in a contest which also had the incumbent, Ben Cash, strongly on the side of "states rights", the "Right to Work" law, and "separate but equal" /sic/ segregation. Case's standing with the Negro vote specifically in the "controlled" wards we have already discussed, along with his contrasting successful showing among colored voters elsewhere in this city. Here the "open" versus the "closed" shop was directly a campaign issue, and "Liberals" of both races as well as "Labor" as a general movement "turned out" to give Cash a close campaign, even though Case did not win. The "Liberals in Labor" were not enough to empower the "bloc."

AFofL versus CIO? As for the Negro vote specifically, the question, further, naturally arose, was the CIO element generally more "liberal" on racial issues than the AFofL, or was it the contrary? And what of individual Negro Labor leaders within these groups--could they be differentiated? Again, the unpredictability of the picture, although generally the answer was "CIO..., yes", in the first instance, and "Negro Labor men...well, maybe more 'Liberal'...", in the second. In Knoxville, for instance, a colored civic leader who commented on the strategic help of some individuals--as individuals--declined otherwise to see "much difference...I don't know if the CIO will be better than the AFofL, they'll both be pretty liberal unless a crisis comes to make them hold off--but which has the bigger influence..., I don't know... ." Within the Labor movement here, several persons mentioned "an undertaker named C.C. Reed..., head of the Carpenters' Local, a member of the NAACP and a good worker in it"--but who, some also pointed out, openly preferred to maintain a segregated Negro local under his leadership than to release this leadership and racial companionship among the men to any possible interracial affiliate. The contrast was pointed elsewhere with such leadership, as well-intentioned and productive in many ways as it was said to be, and that of Aaron Sloss, of the Dupont Chemical Workers in Nashville, who was so dynamic that he was frequently away from the city "helping Labor" on other fronts, but who was decidedly--among others here--"a man to see." Sloss was away, in fact, at the time of this study, but this was the report. Back in Eastern Tennessee, in Oak Ridge, however, the ALCOA union which was said to be actually "neither CIO nor AFL" in internal partisanship, was also said to have Negro members, though there was "little upgrading among them." A trucking union, along with the carpenters, during the construction season, was said to have finally discovered the identity of a Negro trucker ? who had been "passing", in order to have his haulers share in the $800-$1000 a week contracts then being held by Whites, and the work was withdrawn after a few weeks at it by Knoxville residents who had commuted. At the colored Recreation Center in Oak Ridge, where most residents of Gamble Valley held group-meetings, the CIO faction of the unions was said to be "integrated" in the larger body, but to prefer to meet together separately as a racial group--in contrast here to the AFofL members who met as one group in the town interracially. In Memphis, according to Rev. J. A. McDaniel of the Urban League, it could be pointed out that Bradford, the Republican candidate, was president of his AFofL Boilermakers Local, while Walker, the Democrat, served with the coopers, so that here, too, the picture was mixed.

Political action needs. When the time for a specific campaign was at hand, however, in Nashville the split seemed sure between AFofL and CIO as far as colored participation could be considered. In a telephone conversation with Lee Saunders, of the Nashville Trades and Labor Council, the direction was that for information about Negro unionists in political action locally, it would be necessary to "see Matt Lynch, of the CIO." As this official put it, "They're with the CIO plants--the industrial unions, where we're the crafts, building trades; the hod-carriers, versus the plumbers, electrical workers. Two-thirds of them will be with the CIO, but that's only conjecture I have about them, there're few, very few Negro members of our council, and very few come to meetings. They're not active particularly, and no ma'am, not politically. Politically--that's where you'd find them working, CIO, that's Matt Lynch. We have a newspaper, but we get very little from them, even if they're AFofL, we just put the news in of the campaigns but don't do much else politically anyhow... . Yes ma'am... ."

Whatever the situation locally, developing political action among trade unionists required the same kind of diligence and continued planning as among other groups in the community, including Negroes. When James Walker, in Memphis, discussed the outcome of his unsuccessful race for the legislature, for example, he pointed out that "my union as a union is a good union, as far as voting consciousness goes. They know that registration and industrialization both help those on the union rolls, and for registration we had a shop 'machinery' where they learned of what bearing this had." Where there came a stalemate in performance on election day, this was due to relationships strained for the "other" reasons. The distribution of instruction cards from candidates, the organization of telephone committees and car pools, the encouragement of activity to help illiterates while 'getting out the vote', the contribution of funds for political action and advertising through TV, radio, and newspapers--as well as the consideration of how far to go in cooperating with "controlled" ward-bosses and their instruction-houses--these were the dilemmas and problems of Labor leaders, whether they were "Liberal" or not. In Chattanooga, it was considered legendary that the background of the strong showing made by Case despite his late entry had to do with the "terrific" plan for political action initiated in earlier campaigns by Stanton Smith, assisted by his wife, Nancy, a leader also in the Teachers Union, when they were residents there before moving to Nashville. Smith, as present head of the Tennessee State Labor Council, recalled the efforts to cull registered voters from the registrars' lists--and through volunteer efforts, through this "League for Political Education", and Education Committees elected by labor leaders of the county at large, in Chattanooga. Campaigns were organized thoroughly to include Negro and White workers in assignment of responsibilities, but the problems of coping with union memberships versus other leaders on the segregation issue, on the one hand, and of dealing with the type of "bought" voting commandeered by the instruction houses, on the other hand, were no less real. Political action among trade unions required not only "bravery", where "Liberals" were concerned, but systematic work as well, and here leadership was of crucial importance.

Segregationists--"Lunatic Fringe"? If the State Labor Council was the recipient of pro-integration materials from such national groups as the UAW, it was flooded with materials against.... Some of these materials have now come to be generally and diffusely bigoted, such as that distributed by "Robert H. Williams, news analyst, lecturer, former Counter-Intelligence officer, P. O. Box 868, Santa Ana, California," throughout the South. Union officials continually receive the "Williams Intelligence Summary," a news-letter which contends--in one story, for example--that the 'Back-to-Africa' movement is one solution for racial differences: "Negroes Sick of Race War, Ask Congress and White People to Help Them Move to African Republic; Bill Now in Congress; Support It"--this story carries a photograph of Negro Benjamin Gibbons, of the Universal African Nationalist Movement of New York, and reported comments from an interview and correspondence to this effect. Similar pieces are sent--as "Segregate and Educate", pamphlet issued by one A. T. Ramp, of Beaumont, Texas, as a Williams Publication--in which anti-Semitism is joined to anti-Negro Integration: ..."The Anti-Defamation League and Its Use in the World Communist Offensive"...showing how "subversive forces" are gradually "destroying Christianity and the White Race... ." It is further contended that "Racial Segregation and Racial Dignity are as synonymous among Negroes as among Whites--"Segregate and Survive for the Good of the Nation...To Keep the White Race White, the Black Race Black...as a Step in the Direction of Racial Perfection."

When "Liberals", however, speak of the "vocal, loud-mouthed people--the segregationists" in local Labor circles, specifically, it is particularly in Chattanooga that attention is drawn to the "Southern States Conference of Union People", headed by Arthur A. Canada, its organizer, it is said, and prime advocate.

First a union man, Canada is also president of the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation, and in the "Southern States Conference" has attempted to join both interests in a wider program within Labor. Two targets, in particular, are aimed at by both groups--the U. S. Supreme Court Desegregation Decision and the implications assumed to rest in its enactment for "social mixing" of the races, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as the iniquitous innovator of the sought-for change. Interviewees reported the strong cleavage within the Labor movement in Chattanooga--which is the stronghold of pro-segregation's proponents in State union circles--when a resolution supporting the Decision was introduced in the Central Labor Council before Stanton Smith's departure. The XXXXXXXXXX antagonism of pro-segregationists in the AFofL Painters, Pressmen, and Typographical Unions, ameliorated in part only by the reservation of the Electricians and Plumbers Unions that some 'working agreement' should be possible, was so effectively pronounced that the resolution, for all practical purposes, was of little value for group-action. One piece of literature issued by members of the Printing Pressmen's Union, Typographical, Musicians, Machinists, Chemical Workers, Steel Workers, Plumbers, and Automotive Workers--as individuals, it was indicated, rather than as representatives officially designated by these unions--opposed the "alignment with radicals and the NAACP forcing us and our children to co-mingle with ethnic opposites", emphasized the "equal but separate" goal, and deplored the "CIO leadership in the top leaders of the Labor movement...attempting to force Southern Union people to conform to their socio-racial philosophy--using labor publicity against segregation to destroy the Southern heritage...[through the] secret chambers of a strange Supreme Court. . . and 'psychological coercion'... ." The names of the "members" followed that of Canada, as chairman of the "Organizing Committee."

In some instances, throughout the state, such opposition to what one dissenting local called "the Tennessee Federation of Labor's stand on integration and the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" has been strong enough to call for the sending of a letter of censure to the officials "publicly...[for] your actions on these matters." In such cases, the Local has announced, "We feel that support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is not worthy either financially or morally and that we being members of the Tennessee Federation of Labor should be heard on this matter." In other cases, locals have moved even more strongly to withdraw from the Council, as follows: "By a majority vote at its last meeting, Local ...voted to withdraw from the Tenn. State Labor Council. Local... also voted to pay its per capita tax through the month...so our treasurer will send this check under separate cover." In a third type of protest action, however, the sentiments against Integration in any form have been extended to encourage economic pressures against various industries by trade union members. An example is here given in a letter purportedly sent, and thereafter offset for wider distribution, to the U. S. Rubber Company in New York, decrying the "obnoxious display of Molly Goldberg on your television program of Sunday Night, April 15, 1956, in which she kissed a Negro baseball player, embarrassing both the Negro and millions of Americans of both races:" It was said that the signers

> "...cannot condone or succor masses of one race, one religion, one world propaganda that is being heaped upon us by every media of publicity"... [and] inasmuch as we do not wish this type of insidious propaganda to come into our homes while our children may get the idea that such interracial, public petting is to be sanctioned or encouraged, we therefore pledge ourselves to not buy or use any product made or bearing the stamp of U. S. Rubber Co., or its subsidiaries... ."

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Press and Media Participation

White Press Performance . Whatever their journalistic quality otherwise, "White"--or daily--newspapers in each city of these areas in Tennessee were given a "racial" rating by Negro interviewees. As it happened, this rating of "fair" or "objective" reporting on issues of colored concern did, however, fall to the newspapers which were generally thought of as the "best" journalistically, as well: In Nashville, it was the Tennesseean; in Memphis--the Press-Scimitar (a Scripps-Howard paper); in Knoxville--the News-Sentinel; and in Chattanooga--the Times (always described in the next phrase locally, "owned, you know, by the Ochs family, same as the New York Times--and just the same").

These "fair" or "objective" newspapers appeared to be marked by certain general patterns in reportorial or editorial comment on political affairs, as they were similarly by an approach to "Negro" news. Not, in any sense, as a formal content analysis, but as a necessarily cursory impression only, the view is offered here that, these traits were shared:

(a) In Tennessee, the "good 'racial'" newspapers did not lament the possibility of a strong "Civil Rights" plank in the national Democratic Party's platform for the November presidential election, and gave prominent attention to positive gains towards this end.

(b) Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver were treated generously in the news, and their activities reported as candidates, rather than editorialized upon within a local frame of reference.

(c) Considerable attention was given to the importance of TVA, and the quality of its board-members, particularly in view of the pending vacancy for the coming year.

(d) Candidates who campaigned in local and state elections in Tennessee without negative reference to Integration as an issue, or with relatively "liberal" positions on it, were generally supported, with some few exceptions--when the record otherwise politically was good (Aymon, for instance, in Chattanooga).

(e) As with Race, so with Management/Labor: Actions were deplored in making campaign issues of Labor relationships (as in Chattanooga), or when this occurred, the candidate supported was the more "liberal" Labor man.

(f) The Supreme Court Decision on School Desegregation was treated as the law of the land, and local and state developments in regard to it were treated as news without emotional involvement.

What these papers, further, did not do, can be gathered from a contrasting view of the pattern in the "racially 'bad'" papers: With, of course, some deviations in individual cases, according to the local setting, these papers were generally felt to be--in Nashville, the Banner ("on the Negro question, a really terrible newspaper--so terrible that many Negroes have boycotted it from time to time, and won't have it in their homes"); in Memphis--the Commercial Appeal ("that's the one--the editor--he's on that Southern School News board, but it's the pro-segregation paper here, just the same"); in Knoxville --the Journal; and in Chattanooga--the Free Press ("That paper--it's just crazy on the subject of segregation...!").

In these papers, or frequently among them, it could be seen that,

(a) The possibility of a strong "Civil Rights" plank in the Democratic Party's platform was seen as a threat to The South, and all moves--locally, regionally, in the state and nationally--designed to offset this were given strong and supportive publicity. "Civil rights" and "Integration" generally were linked with such symbols as "Force" and "Demands" in headlines, news-reporting and editorials, including cartoons.

(b) When Adlai Stevenson was mentioned, it was as the potential wielder of such force as a rejection of The South, and when Estes Kefauver was commented upon (with more regularity than Stevenson, in any case), it was with the association of "betrayal" of Tennessee for the nefarious gain of "Northern minority"'s votes.

(c) When criticism of President Eisenhower appeared--in this instance, in the Memphis Commercial Appeal's "Letters to the Editor" columns--it would be on the issue of Segregation: i.e., "Fault Is Found with Ike's Acts...Memphian Cites His Integration Tendency"--in the Armed Forces, in the District of Columbia's desegregated schools, in the United Nations--as "that hotbed of Communist conspiracy... ."

(d) The word, "Dixie," was used continuously as a symbol of Southern unity--as an adjective with ...Democrats, or to report a pro-segregation triumph in an election, or in reference to unified action against "Civil Rights"--as in reference to the "Southern Manifesto" or "Interposition."

(e) In local and state elections, considerable attention was given to the publicity releases of the Federation for Constitutional Government, the results of its inquiries to candidates with implied approval or disapproval despite disavowal of political action, and to its emphasis upon the "States' Rights" issue in association with pro-segregation views.

(f) All pro-segregationist meetings and rallies held by such groups as the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation, with Citizens' Councils, and the like, were prominently reported, the leaders generously quoted, with their names frequently figuring in headlines.

(g) Generally in association with pro-segregationist activities, all Confederate ceremonies or symbols figuring as monuments or the like in meeting-places for rallies, were noted importantly in the news.

(h) In specific campaigns, throughout the state, in these newspapers, prominence was given to the "sweep" of the "Citizens for Progress" ticket in Memphis, as a pro-segregationist gain, and the headlines emphasized this. The association of the fight against desegregation with that against "racial mixing" was stressed--as was the "capture" of some Negroes' votes by the pro-segregationists, and the failure of Walker, the Negro candidate, to win sufficiently his race's support.

(i) Similarly, in the pro-segregationist reports in Chattanooga papers, the name of the well-known Judge Schoolfield figured prominently in headlines and stories in a supportive way (as would be the opposite case in the Times, if it appeared at all), and attention was drawn to the "strange" lack of Negro support for "their" candidate, Cullom--as, constantly, to the deplorable condition of the voting situation in the "controlled wards": i.e., "A staunch booster of one of the candidates said: 'The best way to clean up the controlled vote situation would be to put all colored taxi drivers in jail the day of the election. Then there wouldn't be all that hauling to the polls." Or, "...Walter B. Cullom, Negro senate candidate, is not expected to fare well in the controlled wards, a fact which baffles naive observers. This political phenomenon emphasizes that the voter in the controlled wards votes according to the dictates of the ward boss rather than his own conscience... ." /_Elsewhere in this report we have noted the situation regarding Cullom and the Negro vote--as a reputedly "sham" candidacy of a dubious character, promoted by pro-segregationists, in many local interviewees' views._/

(j) Particularly also in Chattanooga, the "Right to Work"--anti-Organized Labor--Law was supported as a campaign issue in the pro-segregationist press.

(k) The Supreme Court Decision on School Desegregation was continuously deplored, all candidates in local and state, or national elections who resisted this as a campaign issue were supported, and the adjective "illegal..." was repetitively used in association with it in news and editorials.

Further Similarities and Differences--re, i.e., Treatment of General Negro News:

In these pro-segregation newspapers, as well, certain tendencies seemed to be marked in the attention to 'Negro' news:

(a) In Memphis, for instance, cross-burnings locally of a Negro home in a previously White area were certain 'news', treated with such 'loaded' language as "...threatened by Negro infiltration" to refer to the neighborhood; any news of discrimination against Negroes in other areas than the South would receive prominent attention--a rejection of a Negro girl by a New England college-sorority, or discrimination in Baltimore against Nashville's two Negro councilmen, or any stories at all of reported difficulties between White and Negro children in Northern 'desegregated' public schools, or--for the front page--of Britishers' strike against the hiring of Negro bus-drivers in London--in pro-segregationist papers here, as in Chattanooga's Free Press, or Nashville's Banner. In Memphis, particularly, the absence of "courtesy titles" of "Miss" for unmarried Negro women would be generally marked in the news, though in instances where White women would be separated from Negroes in a list of teachers, "Mrs." might be used for both races. Even in such a paper as the Knoxville Journal, elsewhere in the state, no such problem seemed to arise--in lieu of attention to 'broader' problems, as 'states' rights.' In the East, indeed, direct attention to segregation or its symbols might be muted in the main, as against the open intensity devoted to this topic, if Knoxville should be taken as the sole criterion. With Chattanooga in this area, however, the scales are weighted.

(b) In all of these papers, it must be noted, an intermittent note of ambivalence on the 'Negro' issue as such could be discerned through the defensiveness over 'racial strife' as a non-regional problem, but also in the stress over 'equality-*but*-separation' as a pro-segregationist theme. Prominent attention was also given to all current school building-programs or planned state expenditures, including the counties--with allocations for Negro schools inevitably cited. When Robert Cole, the ex-Tennesseean, died in Chicago, reportedly as a millionaire, the Chattanooga pro-segregationist *Free Press* editorialized upon the Negro undertaker's "bigness" in "seizing his opportunity" as a responsible man--in the same columns in which segregation was touted as the necessary "Southern Way of Life"--a way from which this ex-citizen had been forced to escape. When the editor of the Nashville *Banner*--sharing a place, incidentally, also with the editor of that city's *Tennesseean*, on the board of Southern School *News*--appeared at a *pro*-segregationist rally honoring Strom Thurmond as the chief speaker, he emphasized that he was not concerned about the color of a man's skin as much as he was about 'States' Rights.' Such ambivalences seem to be marked as a part of the general character of Tennessee's political responses--even when they are overtly against Negro Integration.

In all the papers, indeed--both "liberal" and pro-segregationist--some differences are but slight. Negatively, to some interviewee's minds, for instance, all papers give some news-space to the pro-segregationists' "blasts" against candidates who differ with, or ignore, their views--but the subtleties (whether fortuitous or not, we cannot say) seem to be in the handling of this material in the newspapers' pages as much as in the reporting of the content as rendered. When, in Chattanooga, for instance, both the *Times* and the *Free Press* carried such a story, the wry difference was that the *Times*' page was so made up that the pro-segregationist article, "Segregationists Hit 7 Candidates," appeared directly under a cut, with caption, of a young Negro serviceman, with the headline, "Outstanding Airman of the Month", and the news that this local citizen had returned home for a brief stay after this record at a Texas Air Force Base. Similarly, when both newspapers in Nashville reported extensively, and daily, on their front pages of the series of alleged "rapes" during the election period, upon (generally)middle-aged or older White women, the *Tennesseean*'s stories would be more inclined to note, at least, that both Whites and Negroes were among the suspects--and to indicate in follow-up stories when a suspected Negro had been released--than the *Banner*, which extravagantly emphasized innuendo and the victims' imaginings in a mixture with the reported "facts."

On most of the papers, moreover, there were individuals--the editor, publisher, or specific reporters--with whom some, or several individual members of the Negro community felt a "rapport on the problem" and its discussion, however the paper's policy should be explicitly formulated. In Nashville, the Fisk Race Relations Institute is necessarily an annual news-source of national interest, so that such reporters as Wallace Westfeldt, Gary Myers, and Nat Cardwell, an editorial writer, who have covered its sessions become known to the community from the *Tennesseean*; on this paper, the late publisher, Silliman Evans, was said to be open always to the views of Atty. Alexander Looby, which he accepted with respect though not always with agreement, and Nat Cardwell, who was described by one white interviewee as "one of the few really *Liberal*--and independent--newspapermen left in Tennessee..., he was a good friend of Jennings Perry and they worked in that poll tax fight, he is a real Labor man" was also known to regard Mr. Looby highly. Both Westfeldt and Cardwell, it should be noted, were appraised with some reserve by some members of the Negro leadership group in Nashville, but by others it was felt that they could be considered to be, "relatively speaking, objective reporters--and, possibly 'friends'... ." /Cardwell's helpfulness and candor in this study were marked./

As to the two local Nashville papers, however, one interviewee, Coyness Ennix, the lawyer and School Board member, pointed out that, in his opinion, there was not as much 'racial' difference in "fairness" as some Negroes concluded.

> "The Tennesseean," he said,"has what might be called a segregated column of 'Negro News', regardless of its reputedly 'liberal' views otherwise, while the Banner not only has hired a Negro reporter, Mr. Robert Churchwell, but carries its 'Negro' news throughout the paper, without this 'segregation.' Which is, then, the more 'Liberal'--that is a question?"

In Memphis, interviewees would suggest that "Mr. Meaman, editor of the Press-Scimitar," could surely be "seen" in inquiries on racial affairs, and in Chattanooga, Mr. Alfred Mynders, of the Chattanooga Times, columnist and editorial writer, was similarly described, with the additional designation--"a 'Great Liberal' here, was on the board of Southern Regional Council, but now is off..., I understand..., I don't know why... ." /To Mr. Mynders, it was subsequently revealed, the "best" discussion of the place of the Negro vote in Southern politics can be found in V. O. Key's study, which he recommended as 'required' reading, but beyond this and a generally receptive attitude he contributed comments on Chattanooga's local problems with great reserve./

These random cases of "fairness" were strangely matched by one other "pattern" which seemed to characterize all the papers, regardless of their differences otherwise. The papers did differ in their news-values /A story headlined "South Needs Psychiatrists", with the ensuing scientific report of findings, appeared in the Chattanooga Times, for example, as--it may be presumed?--it was rejected from the wire services of the Free Press /, they differed in their editorial policies, and in their alignments in political affairs. But as to the general coverage of news citing Negro accomplishments as individuals, rather than groups, there was remarkable attentiveness: Photographs, captions, and news-stories of a nationally known Negro singer, or of a local school principal who would shortly receive an "M.A.", or of a young Negro newly elected Junior Chamber of Commerce official, or of job-appointees, or colored veterans, or other "news-worthy" citizens, male or female--these would appear in the "white" press as all other news data. Attention of the Nashville press to the Stainback Hearings, in which Atty. Bartley J. Campbelle's participation was recorded in photographs as well as in extensive news coverage of the event, has already been noted. And, even in Memphis, where local Negroes' news will be more readily identified by the absence of courtesy titles for women generally, though not inevitably, when such a "celebrity" as the young Metropolitan Opera star, Mattiwilda Dobbs, would be scheduled to appear in local concert, the appearance would be handled on the local Music News pages as, appropriately, a distinguished "coming event."

As to the Negro Vote specifically, all the papers contributed implicitly a service which was directed to all readers regardless of race--the printing of general election notices, absentee ballot lists, sample ballots with voters' instructions, and innumerable election ads. The question arises, however, as to how effective such materials were in arousing the voting consciousness of Negro voters to increased performance, since attention to such "news" would no doubt be correlated with general literacy and civic sophistication and interest in this population in comparison with local Whites. The most significant aspect of such notices--or of such "election news and guides to voting" as appeared through releases issued by the League of Women Voters to the papers--may be of more concern to an observing stranger than to local Negro residents: The election ads of White candidates could be divided into, loosely, three categories as they appeared in the "downtown" daily papers--(a) those in which the platforms or captions carried no mention through slogan or otherwise of "states' rights" or "separate but equal" schools and facilities, and concentrated on issues of a general civic nature; (b) those which, in contrast, did stress "states' rights" or pro-segregation views; and (c) those which, in a forthright and definite fashion, declared a position to include all citizens, "regardless of race, color, or creed." Some of these ads--the majority, in fact--appeared in all papers in the same form, but others were found in only one of the two leading dailies in a city--a choice which in itself became indicative of the position of the candidate on racial issues, and in other instances the same candidates' platforms took a markedly different turn when ads were taken in the Negro press. A particular example of the last case can be seen in the Chattanooga campaign of the incumbent pro-"states' rights, separate-but-equal" candidate, Ben Cash, in the race against the Labor representative, Lee Case. Cash's ad which appeared in the Free Press of July 21 made clear his campaign stand on segregated schools and states' rights--he was against "interference" in local affairs by "pressure groups", against "forced integration," and for "separate but equal--at the present time", for the "Right to Work" Law, and against "the unconstitutional Supreme Court encroachment upon Freedom": This large ad was so definite an admission that the "liberal" Times reprint of it, in opposition to the senator's candidacy, was captioned "Read What the News-Free Press Has to Say About Sen. Cash", on July 31. When Cash took an ad, however, for the July 27 issue of the Negro weekly, the Observer, there was no mention of "states' rights" or segregation at all--in contrast to an emphasis upon increased industrial and job opportunities, his fight against taxes for funeral caskets, burial vaults, and medicines, and his interest in what was "best" for all of Chattanooga. (In the same issue of this Negro weekly, a larger paid space was taken by Lee Case, with the contrary emphasis upon his refusal to allow Integration to become an issue in his campaign--a position which, as against his opponent, he maintained consistently in both presses, whether White or Black.) Similarly, observation of general election notices--or of the related news releases, giving guides as to how to vote, from the League of Women Voters--would include the question of in how far Negro voters' interest would be stirred, and the answer here would be directed to the possible recognition of Negro "names" among the listings of election officials, or of familiar polling districts in colored neighborhoods. And as to the sample ballot, or the absentee voters' lists, here Negro voters were hardly relieved of a sense of inadequacy to cope with the suffrage problem, as a part of the overall confusion. The "White" press offered "news" which included the candidacies of Negroes along with Whites in each of the cities, and the issues of interest to Negroes weighed by White campaigners, and the devices for voting which should be exposed to all citizens. Beyond this, the colored voter was left with his experiences in the local Negro press, for journalistic guidance and instruction as to how his ballot should "swing"--and here, too, there were differences of contribution and insights to affect decision, action, or apathy, along with some similarities.

Negro Press Performance . In Middle Tennessee--in Nashville--the "Negro Press" was considered to be a negligible political factor. Here the paper was the weekly "Globe", issued by the Baptist Publishing House forces of Henry Allen Boyd, and primarily as a house organ to communicate with religious groups. Interest in the Globe during this study thus rested in but two factors:

That (a) the advertising manager was Mr. M. W. Day, the militant and widely respected president of the local NAACP, who held his post with the weekly as a full-time job, apparently, at the same time that (b) the Globe professedly not only rejected a general interest in politics (at the reputed behest of the venerable Rev. Mr. Boyd), but continually introduced a "gradualist" and "moderate" position on the segregation issue in its editorial comments generally. To some extent, this anomaly was explained by some local interviewees as the result of a personal interest of the editor--in conflict with advertising manager Day's views--in according the editorial position of the paper with a presumed threat to his wife's position as a local school-teacher should the segregation issue be "pushed too hard." In other views, "nobody considered the 'Globe' anything as a paper around here, nobody pays any attention to it anyhow, and everybody knows how Mr. Day stands as a person on 'The Issue,' so it doesn't matter." Some clues appeared, however, of a more forthright position on the need for registration by Negro voters and of some decision on political matters, while this study was being conducted. The fact is noted here, primarily of importance, of this paper's peculiar role in the "peculiar" city where the Negro intellectual and professional class plays so large a part, with the question as to whether or not these clues will be followed further through community pressure upon this "Negro press", as the climate of opinion around Integration becomes more intense.

"Paid" and "Civic" participation-roles of colored newspaper-"bosses" were of very much more public concern in the other areas. In Memphis, there are two weeklies--the "World" and the "Tri-State Defender"--the latter of which we shall discuss here as indicative of the picture in Western Tennessee. In Eastern Tennessee, the contrasts during the August 2 general election and primary were severe between the roles of the Negro newspaper in Knoxville and that in Chattanooga, although in both instances the individuals who "ran" the papers were generally considered to be political "strong men." Since the active political participation of Negroes in this strategic year's local and state campaigns in Tennessee was affected directly by the papers in Memphis and Chattanooga, we shall turn first to the indications as to why this was not so in Knoxville, and thereafter to the comparisons between those media which did attempt to "get out the vote"--in Chattanooga and Memphis.

. Eastern Tennessee: Knoxville--Purposeful Withdrawal .

C. W. Hyatte, a voluble, dapper, and strong-willed man appearing to be in the late thirties or early forties if "youngish middle-aged", is editor of Knoxville's Independent Call. This Negro weekly, which may not be identified as such when the Chamber of Commerce lists local journals, is indeed "Hyatte's Paper", as a personalized force in community opinion, it would seem, and Hyatte was described as "the nearest thing Knoxville has to a Negro political 'boss.' Evenso, he is nothing like Cas Walker, the real boss for the Whites." Hyatte, to the contrary, is a "race man", but, more than this, a "business man" in political trade to bolster the Negro's material as well as social position on the Knoxville scene; about this he has the "practical" view, most candidly.

"I'm first a Negro--secondly a human being--or, first a human being, second, a Negro," he will say, "but anyhow I want satisfaction on these two sides first. And White people don't want to accord this to the Negro first, but treat you like you are a child, just want you to do anything they say, then they do anything for you, make all your decisions for you, and have their way. 'Look what I did for you,' too many of them want to say, as against 'Look what we did together.' My fight is for letting me in on decisions, and let me know what we're fighting for--and when it comes to politics, I'm one Negro who can be insulted. I deal in politics, and in so many things here--

I have the paper, but also a finger in several businesses--I can deal, because I can stand on my own feet... ."

In this instance, "dealing" would seem to rest upon three contingencies: (a) the position of a candidate or political figure on the segregation/integration issue--as primary in winning this newspaper's support; (b) the willingness, or not, *therefore,* to "back up" the promotion of this candidacy in the colored population by funds ample enough to warrant a paid advertising campaign in the pages of the *Independent Call*; and (c) following such a candidate's success through the support of Negro, along with other, voters, his willingness to "pay off" in patronage-dispensations for jobs and bartered civic favors of importance to Negro individuals and groups--at the *same level* of status and pay as White political supporters would receive. All three of these conditions, in this Eastern Tennessee newspaper man's view, are essential to gain his journal's wholehearted support.

The story, then, was also current that candidates who had not been supported by the *Call* in previous campaigns had been known to be "equivocators" on the Integration issue--and this would seem to be true in light of Hyatte's colorful story of a local judge who, as he put it, "*1* - worked against Negroes in the Clinton [School Desegregation] Case; *2* - insulted me--called me by my first name; so that *3* - I concluded that if he doesn't like Negroes, I couldn't ask anybody to vote for him, for I'd be afraid to have a case in his court: I told him, then, that I wouldn't support him--I wouldn't support him if he paid for ads, and I wouldn't support him free. 'You might be a judge,' I said, 'but you'll always be a mediocre judge.' He's not ready yet to admit the dignity of men as far as all men are concerned, and until he does, he is not ready for me as far as equality of political opportunity is concerned. Your politician will freeze you, and then is expecting you to bring in certain people to vote for him..., but *not me*... ."

Also, in one opinion, even a candidate who was "right" on the racial issue would not be supported in Hyatte's paper if his campaign funds for "Negro vote-getting" were too limited. Another story went of a "good" candidate who, evenso, offered a most modest figure to purchase election ad-space in the *Independent Call*, and this was turned down indignantly as equally "insulting" and insubstantial, in view of the expenditures to win White voters in the downtown dailies. It seemed that the *Call* proposed to offer for "its" candidate a planned promotion and professionalized publicity/advertising campaign, for this expected to receive professional fees at a nonracial customary rate, and would not "accept the crumbs of an ad here and there--and a 'cheap' one at that" from a hopeful politician's 'table.'

And, finally, if it should so occur that Hyatte had "gone all out" for a candidate (as, it was said, he had for a former mayoralty candidate who had run unsuccessfully through several campaigns as a "Liberal" until he won Hyatte's paper's support), the time of reckoning thereafter must still be met. It was said, as an example, that the *Call*'s editor had become an implacable political foe of the former Mayor whom he had once supported with such diligence, when the matter of a job-opening arose in the municipal administration for which a Negro applicant was proposed. The job involved certain elementary services, but also had allowed traditionally for certain "cut-backs" or discount "favors" on equipment and supplies from various local firms, which the job-holder had been free to pocket without question. Although the colored applicant sponsored by Hyatte received the appointment, the "discount" bonus features were rescinded, so that his expected income as a "reward for past political services rendered" in the "best" local patronage tradition was lessened considerably. Not only did the "White" firms refuse to continue the tradition in his case, but, upon Hyatte's personal protest to the now-successful Mayor whom he had helped gain office, it was said, no pressure was placed by this worthy upon the businessmen. The editor's position was that the morality *practically* involved was not as to whether or not the "cutback" custom was legitimate in the first instance, but as to whether it could be allowed to cease with such coincidental awareness of honesty and appropriateness upon a Negro citizen's winning the office for the first time. Charges, it was reported, were thus traded between the "Liberal" mayor at the time who cried "Dishonorable" in Hyatte's direction, from which the editorial winds wafted "Hypocrite" and "Ungrateful" in return--and the stalemate was reached in the *Call*'s future supportiveness. The editor's position continued to be that if White appointees for the job received certain advantages in addition to salary, the return for the Negro appointee--in this case, "his man"--*must* be identical, or "war should be declared" on this "inequality" as much as any other.

For such reasons, it was thus declared, as Hyatte himself put it, "The *Call* was 'sitting this one out'"--as far as the August 2 elections were concerned. Here in Eastern Tennessee's politics, Desegregation was not injected as a strategic issue; there was "not enough money" to warrant a "real" advertising campaign; and with the current administration, as well, in the city, Hyatte had collected certain grievances. An observation of the *Call*'s pages, in contrast to those of the White dailies in Knoxville at the time, would give little evidence that the elections were going on, or that the Negro voter need be stirred to participate, if so, at all: This was one city, and one "boss", in political Tennessee, in which the newspaper leader was "not interested." Not so, however, in direct contrast, with the other city in this region--Chattanooga was also in the East.

. Eastern Tennessee: Chattanooga--"Getting Out the Vote" .

In Knoxville, a local civic leader complained that the newspapers generally did "a nice job" in reporting news of the week or day, but didn't "do too much to swing or sway the colored population one way or another." And as for the Negro press, one paper, the *Flashlight Herald*, had been Republican, but it "went down", leaving only Mr. Hyatte's *Call*--and in this case the comment went, "Such papers are backed up by organizations;with editorials and subscriptions to think of, they don't go out altogether on any issue to take a stand unless the campaign-money is really delivered by Whites, and they know there's some appointment a Negro can get."

In Chattanooga, where many interviewees considered Mr. Walter Robinson, manager-editor of the *Observer*, as also a political "boss" and "moneyman", the judgment differed, in that it seemed to be expected that, on one side or another, Mr. Robinson *would* take a stand, so that the importance rested in determining what would be his way. Moreover, although, as the leading local Negro Republican, it was no doubt further assumed that "Walter Robinson will get the patronage-gains if there *are* any...", there did not seem to be any doubt in popular judgment that the advertising pages of his newspaper were "open" for political hire, that his endorsement of a candidate through editorial and news-comments presupposed an "arrangement" as well as an "interest in the Race", and that his activities were centered on the rewards of campaigning and electioneering rather than on the possible job-getting for satellites and supporters thereafter.

A man reputed to be in the near-70's, but looking considerably younger; fatherly and benign of manner, and hesitant, almost faltering in speech, of himself as a local "political personage", however, Mr. Robinson said,

> "I've lived in this community forty years...reared six children... all college graduates...have never been arrested yet--and so people just kind of feel that if I tell them something, that's it. Not just the White...., but it's been our religion--if you're going to do something, do it, or tell why you can't... . We have lived it here, so that particularly the wealthy, rich White people appreciate it... . Negroes are inclined to wait to see whether White people are going to approve of you and applaud--then they come along... ."

As to the newspaper? He had "run it for 18 years." In politics, it was "non-partisan." It was "financed by the ad-man"--but, "we never ask for any money. First thing is to do the work...do your job so well that money will come." When he made a political decision, Mr. Robinson said, it was in terms of what he personally knew to be "the real man" from long experience in the town and knowledge of the candidates' "real character." Here he had had "more chances to make money" than he had accepted; "I have to turn down, because I can't take both sides... ." In the August 2 campaign, it was immediately clear, from observation of the Observer's pages, that early in his race, Mr. Robinson was committed to support of the successful Republican candidate for sheriff, "Red" Maddox. On July 20, the paper carried a headline, "Survey Report no. 3 Reveals Maddox Leads Sheriff's Race"--in which Negro responses to interviews were recorded, and references made to the notorious Judge Schoolfield's pro-segregation attitudes as an issue in his reported support of Maddox's opponent. Continually, this candidacy was supported through the week of election--when "Voters League /the Robinson political organization/, Free Press /the pro-segregationist paper, though the Times also endorsed Maddox--here not mentioned/, GGL, And Others Swing to Maddox" made one Observer head, and an editorial, "Maddox Should Be Elected Sheriff" gave indications of two Negro organizations' political interest, along with other groups, and editorial reminders of past violence in the conduct of the Sheriff's office to colored voters. That Maddox won reenforced Mr. Robinson's judgment that here was a "real man"--who had promised to retain paid Negro deputy sheriffs (in contrast to his opponent), who campaigned on a "regardless of race..." platform, and who--as a "family man, outdoor sportsman" with activity in business, clubs, civic associations, charity drives, church, and the like--was a generally popular candidate to bring about "clean government and honest law enforcement." That Selcer, the candidate for tax assessor, who had also gained a superior experience in his job, also won as a "regardless of race..." candidate, meant as well that Mr. Robinson had been "right" for the "better man." As to the candidacy of Ben Cash versus Case, for Senate, there lingered, evenso, as we have indicated here throughout, considerable question in many colored interviewees' minds, as to the Observer's actual role.

From the pages of the paper, the clues are limited and slim. While civil rights here--as in Memphis--were treated in these news- and editorial-columns as a partisan Republican contribution to national life and an anti-Democratic, pro-Eisenhower, political issue--in the campaign for the state Senate, the July 27 Observer suggested, in one head, "Legislative Candidates' Stand on Segregation Leaves Negroes Very Little Choice To Pick From." This was the issue in which, joining a weekly succession of insertions from other candidates as well, election-ads appeared giving the platforms of Lee Case--with the disavowal of desegregation as an issue--and the devious version of Cash, in which no reference to such an issue (in contrast to the ad in the Free Press) is made. It is clear that the Observer did not openly endorse Cash, in spite of the fact that leading Negro supporters of Case resented Robinson's position of "neutrality" as "equivalent to Cash's endorsement." And when the campaign was done, the *Observer*'s pages also carried the story of Negro support for Case generally /despite the showing in Robinson's own "controlled ward" in favor of Cash/, in view of his segregation stand, with the concession of his "strong" showing despite a delayed entry. In personal comments after this race, the newspaperman, however, said, most confidentially,

> "Well..., in the Senator's race...Case made an open public declaration that he would not allow the office to be used to destroy the good relations between races in Hamilton County. He started late ...three weeks before election...and failed... . Majority of Negroes voted for Case because of his open statement. He had trade union endorsement...workers at the polls... . Negroes working for him were led by Clarence Robinson, principal, Second District Junior High School..., president, Teachers' Union... , about the same Negro and White... .
>
> "Now...Cash...for separate but equal. Incumbent. But we realized that he was a Jew, and he didn't mean that. He had been around here a long time. People knew him in the community... . We went behind what he said and got the *real man*. He won by a few hundred votes ...made an upward track...up--and back... . Point is, examine the background of all the fellows--for information from youth on up... . Not from the newspapers alone--go behind that and examine the *background*, no matter what they tell us now in a campaign--and then we *know*.
>
> "This much, you see... . A Jew and a Catholic and a Colored man can't join the Ku Klux Klan--can't get any more than we can... . So, though we know Cash said that, we know he is in the same boat with *us, after all* on this... . We have a non-partisan government here--no Democrat, Republican, Socialist--or anything. It's just *the man* we vote for..., just *the man*... ."

During this same campaign, the *Observer* carried election advertising for the candidate, Bruno, representing strongly pro-Eisenhower local Republican forces, but who, as a Catholic with a previously "liberal" reputation in the colored community, "strangely came out for Interposition." Another candidate, Richardson, who took paid space in the paper, was among the winners, though Bruno was not. In Maddox's case, evenso, the newspaper appeared to be undoubtedly effective in "getting out the vote", and, from the record of his singular success in Mr. Robinson's 4th Ward, it would appear that implicitly if not directly, the *Observer* also "produced" for Cash.

. Western Tennessee: Memphis--the "Race Issue" Challenge .

Across the state, in strong comparison with all of these papers, there remains the *Tri-State Defender* in Memphis. Aiming at a circulation covering Negroes not only in Tennessee, but in nearby Mississippi and Arkansas as well, this is, further, "more than a local mouthpiece", for it is a part of the chain supported by Chicago's well-known national Negro weekly, also the *Defender*. Its editor in Memphis is not a local politician or product, but a tall, controlled, sophisticatedly independent young man who has come to the "Bluff City" as, first, a "working newspaperman" with a cosmopolitan background in his "trade:" Alex Wilson has worked on the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, the Detroit *Tribune*, the Chicago *Defender*--for which he was a war correspondent with the National Negro Publishers Association as well in Korea, and the Ohio State *News* in Columbus, from which he came directly to Memphis to guide this new venture. It is clear, from exposure to local leaders, that Wilson is a respected part of Memphis' civic life, but he is such as a journalist and not as a political figure.

The newspaper, thus, is not a personal journal, but undoubtedly serves to become the voice of the "New Negro" not only in Memphis, but in the mid-South of which it is otherwise a part, and it is designed to eliminate the conditions stimulating, as Wilson put it, that "dismal thing...the Negro who through necessity or lack of intestinal fortitude..." found it expedient, for example, to "vote for CP." This is the kind of paper in which a front-page banner head for the week of July 14 carried a report from sociologist-"Expert E. Franklin Frazier", under the streamer, in boldest type, "New Negro in the South Not Scared Any More... ." When, during the same period, a cross burned in the yard of a Negro home near Ellendale, the *Defender*'s photographers brought back a record of the scene, with a story of the militant property-owner's threat to the next "visitors," captioned "I Will Protect My Home!" In retort to the type of coverage which the *Commercial Appeal* gave to the "threatened infiltration" of a White neighborhood by Negro property-seekers in Glenview, the *Defender*'s news-columns reported, "For the Record--Mixed Reactions About Glenview Home Deal--An Example of Pro-Seg Twisting of Fact--Case of Pro-Segregation As Political Football..."--in a situation about which both Negro and White emotions locally were aroused. /The withdrawal of the colored minister from the scene of "battle" over the property, in a reputed acceptance of the demand by Whites to sell, had also offended many colored citizens' sensibilities./ Full attention, in turn, is given not only to Negro protest but to Negro progress--in pages featuring, for instance, the history and growth of LeMoyne College, or the "Significant Contribution" which the Universal Life Insurance Company had made in business to the Memphis community. The *Defender* is a paper of "name"-columnists, like the local figure, "Professor 'Nat' Williams", who writes also the popular feature for the Pittsburgh *Courier* covering Memphis and Beale Street, *and* of nationally syndicated writers. It has substantial "Society" news--in which the editor and his wife seem also to figure in activities of the Negro "upper class", but it is also filled with items "doing battle for the 'Race.'" There are numerous "letters to the editor" on its editorial pages--from both Negroes and Whites, including "baiting" from pro-segregationists which is recorded defiantly as "Yes, We'll Print It..." in these columns. And there is the editor's own column, "For the Record" in which the "shots are called--a spade, a spade... :" On August 11, it was "*Time For Some Grass-Roots Politics*".

Politically, the *Defender* was unmistakably a participant in this Tennessee area--and its "objectivity" rested in no "neutrality" on the racial issue, but in apparent attempts to be "non-partisan" in the equal coverage given to *Negro* Republican and Democratic campaign affairs. For the Republicans, headlines declared "Voters Swinging to GOP Camp," or "W. W. Walker Joins the Republican Camp" /Another Walker--neither of the Universal Life, or the 'Jimmie' Walker clan/, or "Lt. Lee Raps Armour, Grider," or "CP Scores, But Fails to Upset GOP Power." For the Democrats--"Walker Backers Hit Lee, GOP," or "Record Shows Walker on Little Man's Side," or "Beware: Do Not Vote This Ticket /CP/," or "Voters League Set To Back James Walker." Definitely *against*, however, was the *Defender* as to either White or Negro pro-segregationists of the Democratic faction, "Citizens for Progress," and it was here that, in the August 2 elections, all its resources were brought to bear for exposé. This was the paper which sent photographers and reporters to street-corners in Memphis and to the rural areas of Stewartville and others in the county, to document the activity of Negro "CP" workers--"Negro CP Leader /Who/: Orders Reporter Out of His Tent," or the "County Workers," or the Full Page Photo Spread, "Educators in County Urged People to Vote CP."

In the pre-election registration campaigns, the paper was equally vocal. On July 14, here, too, "The People Speak: Tells Why Should Register, Vote" captioned photographs and interviews with "citizens from the masses," just as a release from the League of Women Voters gave "Poll Pointers: Does Polling Place Confuse" on the paper's front page. In the July 28 issue, an editorial endorsement of candidates appeared--Negro Independent Democrat James Walker, along with Republican Lt. Lee; the notice of General Election, with officials, was called to the attention of colored voters; and the ad of an Independent candidate, LaManna, for County Tax Assessor, promised "Courtesy to All, Rich or Poor, White or Colored"--in the midst of a strongly pro-segregationist effort. This was the paper which, as the local and state elections were over, and the national campaign got underway, also headlined the promise of Southern Democrats that they would not "bolt" from the party of Stevenson and Kefauver. Most of all, however, it was the paper which sought to guide all community interests to "meet the challenge on the Race Issue"--in everyday Memphis, with its Tri-state focus, as at the polls.

Other Media

In Nashville, there was the Negro radio station, WSOK, which many local citizens deplored: "A cheap station, offering cheap programs, and featuring gospel music or blues all day long." In Knoxville, there was no mention of a "Negro" station, as against Chattanooga, where there was said to be WMFS--"it's there, but a tiny one... ." In Memphis alone was there a station which seemed to be a community force--WDIA, with an interracial staff, owned by Whites who apparently carry out the administrative functions, with Negroes as announcers, entertainers, and public relations figures for an impressive list of sponsored advertising-commercials.

WDIA is the station which is housed in an attractive modern building, in one of the most pleasant of the downtown, outlying, Memphis "business" districts, and the general atmosphere is one of gracious courtesy, informal dignity, and warmth among these staff-members. It is the station of the "Good Will Revue," exhibits in photographs of which are shown in blow-ups or montages on the foyer-walls--emphasizing its contribution in "Aid to Needy Negro Children... Helping People to Help Themselves...To Better Education, Understanding, Standards of Living, Opportunity..."--through an all-Negro boys' baseball team, services to crippled or otherwise handicapped colored children, and the like. Uniforms for the team, smartly "turned out" in its photograph, and transportation services and vehicles for the handicapped, have been purchased by these "All-Negro Talent" shows featuring such groups as the "Famous Soul Stirrers, Skylarks of Nashville, Gospel Writer Boys", with the station's well-known announcers, Ford Nelson, Andrew Williams, and "Nat" Williams /no relation/, as "M C's" for large audiences. The programs here, too, are generally devoted to popular "gospel songs", Negro jazz recordings, or "blues", but on Sunday afternoons there is the "Brown America Speaks Forum," conducted by "Professor" Williams /who teaches History as well at the local High School/, which is of relevance here to the political picture.

"Brown America Speaks" was said to have introduced many lively topics for a wide audience of radio-listeners extending over the mid-South, on interracial affairs. A panel of visitors--frequently White and Colored--is invited to respond to questioning by Williams as the interviewer, on issues of pressing moment. Should "Nat" Williams be away--as it occurred during this study's course--the forum is conducted by Andrew Williams, instead. In any case, the record here points to two particularly significant occasions on which local leaders attempted to arouse local voting consciousness and performance among Negro voters--once, around the topic, "Should Civil Rights be an Issue in the Coming Presidential Campaign?", and again, to inquire into "What Are the

Reasons for So Few Negro Voters' Participation in the Recent /August 2/ Primary Election in Memphis?" Although content of the latter forum has already been indicated, questions raised in the former may be of additional interest. These were,

> "What is meant by Civil Rights?
>
> "Why should Civil Rights Be a current issue since there is a Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution?
>
> "What do you think of the view that continued discussion of Civil Rights only serves to Increase Racial Tensions?
>
> "What effect do you think a heated campaign discussion of Civil Rights will have on the presidential election?
>
> "Which of the two major political parties do you feel more nearly supports Civil Rights legislation?
>
> "What would special Civil Rights legislation do, if public sentiment in the South was opposed to it?
>
> "Who or what groups take the lead in keeping the Civil Rights issue before the public, and why?
>
> "What do you think of the observation that 'Civil Rights is only a political football that politicians use to get out the votes by playing on people's feelings?
>
> "Is Civil Rights a matter which can be settled politically, through legislation, or by education and persuasion?
>
> "What do you think will be the ultimate outcome in Civil Rights for the Negro minority in this country...meaning by 'ultimate'... within the next five years?"

From these questions--to which the responses are "hard-hitting" and forcefully candid, it would appear--it can be seen that, for those Negroes who listen to the forum some awareness of political issues can be gained. The policy of this station, which can only be surmised from this superficial impression, would seem to be to encourage this awareness, with implications for the colored voters' performance. In view of the White ownership, this in itself is a remarkable development on the Memphis scene, and should be more closely probed. It should be noted that, during this study, one white interviewee at the station was interrupted by a telephone-call from a local White citizen, apparently, who attempted to place a commercial announcement, for "spots" between shows, of a forthcoming event to which Negroes would not be admitted. When the official's questioning elicited this fact, the "ad" was rejected, on the explicit terms that "We could not afford to make announcements on this station which would eliminate, or offend, any part of our listening audience." Whether such policy-judgments are known to be customary in the Negro community, and whether this affects the increase of listeners or their "follow-through" on the forum's insights, we cannot say, but it is a provocative clue for further questioning as to the station's impact on the Negro vote.

. TV . In all the cities there were active TV stations, and passing mention was made by several interviewees of election features observed on them. As to the participation of Negroes, or the effects on colored voters generally, we were not able to gauge.

Special Suffrage- Tenn.
MM

EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN TENNESSEE

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Background Factors

Tennessee, like ancient Gaul, is divided into three parts, and the three distinct regions which characterize the state differ sharply in climate and natural life as well as in cultural attributes and political orientations. These regions, which have been officially recognized for political purposes and for the administration of justice, are known as the three grand divisions of the state: East, Middle, and West. The "Grand Divisions" have sometimes been called "three separate states with common boundaries". In upper East Tennessee the climate, vegetation, and animal life resembles New England; Middle Tennessee is somewhat akin in this respect to Ohio and the midwest; while West Tennessee in general typifies the Deep South.[1]

These three divisions differ widely also in the racial composition of their population, for while the Negro population of Tennessee formed 16.1 per cent of the total population in 1950, it was unevenly distributed over the state. West Tennessee, which borders on Mississippi and Arkansas, has approximately a third of the total population but more than half the Negro population of the state. In two counties of West Tennessee, Fayette and Haywood, the Negro population outnumbered the white population in 1950. There were seven counties in 1950, all in West Tennessee, where the Negro population formed a third or more of the total population of the county. The political orientation of West Tennessee is that of the Deep South.[2]

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[1] For an interesting description of the three grand divisions, see George N. Redd, Educational Desegregation in Tennessee--One Year Afterward," *Journal of Negro Education,* 24: 333-334, Summer, 1955.

[2] Fayette, Hardeman, Haywood, Lauderdale, Madison, Shelby, and Tipton.

On the other hand, East Tennessee is strongly Republican and regularly selects Republican representatives in both State and Federal elections. East Tennessee contains few of the state's Negroes and in 1950 most of the 13 counties where Negroes formed less than one per cent of the total county population were in East Tennessee.[3] Middle Tennessee is intermediate between East and West Tennessee in proportion of Negro population and in political orientation. The area is Democratic in party affiliation but contains patches of Republicanism. Nashville, which is in Middle Tennessee, is called "The Athens of the South" and is a center of colleges and universities as well as religious publishing houses and national headquarters.

Another important background factor in the political situation of Negroes in Tennessee rests also in the urban character of the Negro population. While approximately one-third of the white population of Tennessee is urban, substantially more than half of the Negroes in Tennessee live in urban places. This situation is in marked contrast to the situation in the states adjacent to Tennessee and to the situation in the South as a whole. The political implications of urbanism derive from the ghetto style living which the city imposes upon minority groups and the impersonal and anonymous nature of relations within the city. Negro political associations develop chiefly in the cities. In Nashville, for example, several so-called neighborhood civic associations attempt to furnish some political leadership for Negroes. A city-wide political organization called "The Solid Block" was attempted in Nashville in the mid-1940's. It attempted to establish a procedure whereby endorsements would represent the will of the majority of the members, but its leadership endorsed a mayoralty candidate in 1947 who received only a small portion of the Negro vote. This candidate's loss practically sounded the death knell of the "Solid Block" as an effective city-wide political organization.

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[3] Cumberland, Fentress, Grundy, Jackson, Overton, Pickett, Polk, Scott, Seavatchi, Sevier, Unicoi, Union and Van Buren.

Placing Negro political participation in Tennessee in perspective, it can be noted that it has reflected the tripartite political and cultural orientation of the state, the uneven distribution of Negro population by sections and by counties within sections, and the urban character of the population.

Negro Enfranchisement in Tennessee

Negro suffrage and office holding was one of the major issues in the political reconstruction of Tennessee after the Civil War.[4] There was serious debate in 1867 as to whether the Negroes should be enfranchised and when Negroes were enfranchised in that year they were denied the privilege of holding office or serving on juries. These restrictions were removed by the General Assembly in 1868 but in the 1868 state elections there were no Negro candidates. The first Negro member of the General Assembly appeared in 1873 from Davidson County.

While most southern states had moved to disenfranchise the Negro by 1910, in Tennessee Negroes continued to vote, especially in the larger cities. The most effective device which was developed by the southern states was the "white primary." Since most of the states had only one political party--the Democratic party--selection in the "white Democratic primary" was tantamount to final victory. Negroes were effectively excluded from the Democratic primary in nine southern states until the United States Supreme Court in a long series of decisions beginning in 1944 and culminating in 1948 invalidated racial exclusion from Democratic primaries. In Tennessee the issue of voting in the primaries has always been left to the Democratic party committee in each county. Thus, in those counties where the Negro population is heaviest, Negroes are excluded or limited in their participation in the Democratic primaries even to the present time (notably in Fayette and Haywood Counties). Logan has presented an interesting survey of the attitude of the southern white press toward Negro suffrage as expressed in selected samples of editorials and news items. Several newspapers from Tennessee were included in the sample. The Tennessee items generally indicated that Negroes were voting in the Democratic primaries in 1906, 1908, and in 1910, and while there was some pressure for exclusion of Negroes from Democratic primaries, there was little attention being paid to this pressure even in the 1930's.[5]

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[4] Thomas B. Alexander, Political Reconstruction in Tennessee, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 123-124, 129-131, 200.

Another device which was used in some southern states to prevent or at least limit Negro voting was the poll tax, and here again Tennessee has an interesting situation. The poll tax is the voluntary payment of a small sum before registration for voting is permitted. The poll tax was included in the State Constitution of 1870 which, until 1953, was the oldest unamended constitution in the nation. The poll tax was repealed by the Tennessee legislature in 1943 but the repealing act was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court. In 1949, the legislature exempted women and veterans from the poll tax and abolished it as a requirement for voting in primaries. In 1951 the legislature limited the tax requirement to the payment of taxes levied for the year 1871. Finally, in 1953, the voters of Tennessee approved eight amendments to the Constitution, one of which abolished the poll tax.

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[5] Rayford Logan (editor), The Attitude of the Southern White Press Toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940, Washington: The Foundation Publishers, (1940), pp. 79-93.

The effects of the developments discussed above upon Negro voting in Tennessee is difficult to measure, because Tennessee does not issue official figures on the Negro voting registration. The following figures on Tennessee Negro voters are furnished by Martin in an excellent article on the political status of the Negro in the United States:[6]

Tennessee Negro Voters: Potential and Eligible, 1940-52

	1940	1947	1952
Potential Voters	309,456	--	--
Eligible Voters	50,000	80,000	155,000
Per Cent	16.15	25.8	48.62

Martin's figures are based upon estimates made by Ralph Bunche for 1940, by Luther P. Jackson for 1947 and Henry L. Moon for 1952. Emerson and Haber prefer Luther Jackson's estimate for 1940 which gives Tennessee 20,000 eligible Negro voters.[7] In November, 1956, the Southern Regional Council estimated that there were 90,000 Negroes registered to vote in Tennessee, an increase of 5,000 over their previous estimate of 85,000 in 1952. The Council stated that Negroes in Tennessee represented 16 per cent of the total population of voting age and 15 per cent of the total registration. These widely varying estimates serve to point up the great difficulty in obtaining accurate voting registration figures by race, and the necessity to view such estimates with some degree of caution.

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[6] Robert E. Martin, "The Relative Political Status of the Negro in the United States," Journal of Negro Education, Volume XXII, No. 3, Summer, 1953, p. 367.

[7] Thomas I. Emerson and David Haber, Political Civil Rights in the United States, Buffalo, N. Y.: Dennis and Co. (1952), p. 326.

Elections and Appointments

Negroes of Tennessee have made rather limited progress in election and appointments since Ralph Bunche in the early 1940's entitled one of the chapters of his analysis of the political status of the Negro, "Memphis--Where the Black Balance of Power Fails to Get the Fruits of Victory".[8] Perhaps no other large group in American political life receives as little from political participation as the American Negro. It seems surprising, for example, that Negroes should take as active an interest in supporting gubernatorial candidates in Tennessee as they do and yet receive so little official recognition from them after election. Despite the national potential of Tennessee's recent governors, no Negro has received any state appointment of significance for the establishment of public policy. This is in the face of the precedents established by such southern states as North Carolina and Maryland where Negroes have been appointed to State Boards of Education and other important state boards and commissions and Texas where Negroes have been appointed to the governing boards of institutions of higher education for Negroes. Tennessee Negroes have yet to achieve this type of official recognition at the state level and have made surprisingly little demand for it.

Negroes have fared slightly better at the local government level. Two Negroes--Robert E. Lillard and Z. Alexander Looby--were elected to the 22 member city council of Nashville in 1951 and re-elected in 1955, the first to serve in almost forty years. In Oak Ridge, Tennessee, a Negro, Henry Teasley, became a member of the city council. In Nashville, Coyness Ennix, a Negro attorney and former leader of the "Solid Block", has been appointed and reappointed to the city board of education and to the city auditorium committee. In Knoxville, a Negro has been appointed as one of the assistants in the office of the County Attorney, another Negro--Reverend L. A. Alexander--has served on the Knoxville board of education, and in 1955 the city council of Knoxville elected a Negro to the City Planning Commission.[9] Negroes serve on several public housing commissions, hospital boards, and other such bodies in some Tennessee cities, but in 1956 when the Mayor of Memphis suggested the appointment of a Negro to the hospital board of that city, public pressure forced him to abandon the proposal.

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[8] Quoted in Alexander Heard, A Two-Party South?, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952, pp. 215-216.

Negroes have begun to enter the competition for political office in Tennessee in a serious manner. Negroes have filed as candidates for the State Legislature and as Deputy Mayor in Nashville, but have not yet won such offices which require the support of whites as well as Negroes.

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[9] This list of appointive office-holders is admittedly incomplete and has been compiled from Heard, Ibid; David Loth and Harold Fleming, Integration North and South, New York: Fund for the Republic, 1956; Jessie P. Guzman, 1952 Negro Year Book, New York: Wm. H. Wise Co.

Recent Political Developments Affecting Negroes in Tennessee

Several recent political developments stemming from actions of the 1957 Tennessee General Assembly are worth at least brief mention. In Davidson County, for example, there were a score or more candidates for the two senate seats and six house seats in the state legislature. Despite the fact that Negroes vote freely in the Democratic primary in Davidson County, several of the candidates publicly took a pledge required by the Tennessee Federation of Constitutional Government (a pro-segregation organization) to do everything in their power to maintain segregation if elected. Of the two senators elected from Davidson County, one had taken the pledge and one had publicly refused to do so. Of the six members of the house elected from Davidson County, only one had taken the pledge of the Federation and for some surprising reason, he received substantial Negro support in his election. The election demonstrated that in this county, it was not necessary to endorse segregation to win and the evidence indicates that such an endorsement might even be harmful to the candidate's chances among both white and Negro voters.

The action of the legislature on pro-segregation bills also had some interesting overtones. The Tennessee legislature received five pro-segregation school bills from the governor which it subsequently passed. The Shelby County (Memphis) delegation also introduced and had passed bills regulating the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Before passage, however, this delegation received protests from Memphis Negroes to which they responded in such a way as to evidence political concern. The Nashville Tennessean reported for example, "A group of Memphis Negro ministers told Shelby county legislators they would actively work against reelection of any member who supported pro-segregation legislation."[10] Two state senators from Shelby County pointed out that the acts would apply also to White Citizens Council and other pro-segregation groups. The fact that Shelby County Negro votes were instrumental in placing Tennessee in the Republican presidential camp has not been lost on the Shelby County legislators. Lieutenant George Lee of Memphis has been providing aggressive political leadership for Memphis Negroes.

One of the major factors in the full and equitable exercise of the franchise is the apportionment of population among voting districts. The Tennessee legislature is rural dominated and has not been reapportioned since 1901, although there is a provision in the state constitution that it should be reapportioned every 10 years. Reapportionment would give urban areas substantially more representation, and it has already been pointed out that the Tennessee Negro population is highly urban. The proposal to redistribute rests in the Tennessee legislature was defeated in the senate by a vote of 20-12. One of the opponents, Senator James H. Cummings, "hinted that passage of the proposal at this time might cause a racial question to develop if big cities gained additional representation."[11]

In the closing days of the session, the legislature defeated a bill which would have authorized the state to accept federal aid for school construction, although the bill was supported by the state administration. The bill was attacked from both the standpoint of its possible effect on segregation as well as on the basis it would open the door to Federal control of education.

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[10] Nashville Tennessean, January 10, 1957, p. 5.

[11] Nashville Banner, March 13, 1957, p. 1.

A Nashville legislator who received strong Negro support for election voted to defeat the bill, but stated, "My fear isn't segregation but the creeping leprosy of Federal control.[12]

The 1957 Tennessee legislature enacted a law to enable the larger cities and the counties in which these cities were located to form one governmental unit--a metropolitan government. The act applied only to the four counties of Davidson, Knox, Hamilton, and Shelby. The Davidson County (Nashville) delegation sponsored this act, and Nashville Negroes tended to view it as an effort to deprive them of the representation which they have achieved in the Nashville city council where there are two Negroes. No Negro is represented among the county magistrates. Since this plan has to be approved in a separate city and county referenda, Nashville Negroes threatened to defeat the plan unless they were represented on the charter drafting commission.[13] Alfred Galloway, Negro contractor and a member of an interracial voluntary citizens committee for the support of the one government plan in Davidson County, told a mass meeting of Negroes, that "Negroes as a group will insist on at least as much representation as they have now and preferably more. And unless they have as much the (one-government) charter will be defeated. We must have representation at all costs."[14] The city was authorized by the act to appoint five members to the charter commission and the county an equal number. Subsequent to this request for representation, the county appointed a Negro business man, G. S. Meadors, as one of its five members, and the city appointed Z. A. Looby, a Negro attorney, NAACP counsel, and city councilman, as one of its five representatives. This latter appointment occasioned some surprise because

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[12] Nashville Banner, March 23, 1957, p. 14.
[13] Nashville Tennessean, April 15, 1957, p. 1.
[14] Nashville Tennessean, April 15, 1957, p. 1.

Looby, while not opposing one-government, had been critical of the proposal and has not been a political ally of the Mayor who appointed him. These two Negro appointments are believed to assure the eventual passage of the plan for Nashville and Davidson County.

Concluding Note

These recent developments and others which might be cited indicate that the Negro has a high political potential in Tennessee. Failure to utilize this potential has been due chiefly to apathy on the part of Negroes, lack of aggressive leadership, and the growth of factionalism among Negro political leaders who have in the past vied with one another in an effort to deliver the Negro vote to various political machines without requiring any long range objectives from the machines. There is now, however, a strong and growing awareness among the masses of Negroes as to the benefits to be gained from political participation, and they are more and more insisting upon performance for their support.

A final factor which is broad in its scope and which warrants mention has to do with the effect of regulation charges upon the internal politics of the state and upon its national political strength. Representation in the United States House of Representatives and in the apportioned Federal Public Service is related to the relative population rank of the individual states. The 1955 population estimates show that while the national population increased 9.0 per cent, the Tennessee population increased only 3.7 per cent. Between 1950 and 1955 Tennessee had a net loss of 142,000 persons. While this includes white as well as Negroes, the important fact is that if this trend continues the state stands to lose further representation on the national political scene.

Almost two-thirds (61) of the 95 Tennessee counties lost population during the 1950-55 period, while 34 gained. The losing counties were mostly rural while the greatest gains were made by the large urban and metropolitan centers.[14] These charges have broad implications not only for the political status of the Negro in Tennessee but for the Negro throughout the nation as a whole.

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[14] Tennessee State Planning Commission, Public Works Planning Newsletter, Volume I, Number II, October, 1956, Nashville, Tennessee.

1. VOTING FIGURES

A. STATE OF TENNESSEE: Estimates of Negro Registration, 1940-56.* (General).

1940	1947	1952	1956
20,000	80,000	85,000*	90,000* - 140,000**

*These figures are given comparatively through interview with Z. Alexander Looby, Nashville attorney, in relationship to Chart II, "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940" (Jackson, SRC), and to "Estimated Negro Registration in 12 Southern States, 1947-52", p 4, "Race and Suffrage Today" (SRC). Looby considers all the figures to be "grossly exaggerated", and that there are fewer registered Negro voters in the state than indicated.

**On the other hand, the second figure is quoted in the Nashville Banner of Oct. 17, 1956, and is attributed to George W. Lee, Memphis Republican leader, through correspondence sent to Roscoe C. Grant of Nashville, upon his appointment as Middle Tennessee Chairman for Minority Groups in the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign. /Note clipping, Supplementary Materials./

B. STATE OF TENNESSEE: Estimates of Total and Negro Registration and Voting in Aug. 2, 1956, Primary--4 Counties representing Middle, Westen, and Eastern Tennessee Areas. ~~(Highest figures)~~.***

	TOTAL Registration	TOTAL Voting	NEGRO Registration	NEGRO Voting
MIDDLE (Davidson)	150,000	45,000	9,000	(3,000?)#
WESTERN (Shelby)	194,577	57,088	49,345	13,000
EASTERN				
(Knox)#*	120,000	42,000	10,000	3,000
(Hamilton)	97,300	23,950	16,000	4,000
	561,877	168,038	84,345	20,000

× Oak Ridge figures not included

(Comparative Populations:)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	(Negro Percent)
MIDDLE			
(Davidson)	355,616	57,226	
(Nashville -	177,932)-(174,307)	54,726#**	31.4
WESTERN			
(Shelby)	532,400		
(Memphis -	458,150)	(160,000-)	(35.-)
EASTERN			
(Knox)	239,400	(25,000)	
(Knoxville -	129,100)	(20,000)	14.6

(Comparative Populations--cont.)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	(Negro Percent)
EASTERN			
(Hamilton)	223,300	(75,000)	(25.-)
(Chattanooga)	139,700	(70,000)	

Estimated Total Population for the 4 Counties:	Estimated Negro Population for the 4 Counties:
1,350,716	317,226

***These estimates are based upon the highest figures given in the chart to follow, in instances where there is a range offerred. From this chart it will also be seen that the estimates are occasionally matched by official figures, but that, on the whole, there are definite variations in the conceptions, as indicated. In the main, therefore, these figures, as the rest, must be loosely interpreted.

This is an estimate which does not appear in the chart to follow, in that it was reluctantly given as impossible to verify except through actual count of the voting performance of the Negro population by wards and precincts. /Note examples for years 1952, 1954, as given./

#* Oak Ridge registration figure, Anderson County, is not included in this count, but shows in the following chart.

#** All figures for comparative populations are based upon latest 1956 estimates, with the following reservations: (a) Negro population figure and percentage for Nashville is related to the second total population figure in parentheses, as indicated from the 1950 census. (b) Negro population figures and percentages that follow for other counties, and are enclosed by parentheses, are broad estimates given by interviewees, among whom there were variations. Memphis Negro population, for instance, has been estimated from 150-170,000, and the percentage as declining from 42. in 1950 to 34-35% in 1956, in one case, as against to 40% in another. Knoxville population estimates for the Negro population are given on the interviewee's assumption that the figure is larger than the census shows.

Throughout, omission of population figures for Oak Ridge, in Eastern Tennessee area, and for Brownsville (with Jackson), in Western Tennessee area, is intentional--in the former instance, to limit the picture to the larger metropolitan centers in each county, and in the latter case, because there is no record of Negro registration or voting performance.

#* One estimate, however, gives Oak Ridge a total population of approximately 32,000, with about 1100 Negroes in 1956. (N population has declined since 1950.)

In Chamber of Commerce material, total population for Jackson is given as "40,000, 65.8 native white." For Brownsville, an interviewee estimated the total population to be 9,000, with 4,500 Negroes--with a ratio of Negroes in Haywood County (26,212) of "3 to 1."

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C. VOTING PERFORMANCE AND REGISTRATION, COMPARATIVE POPULATIONS, IN THE KEY AREAS--COUNTIES IN MIDDLE, WESTERN, EASTERN TENNESSEE

Factors of Difficulty in deriving Voting, Registration figures.

Wherever figures appear here in round numbers, it may be generally assumed that they are estimates, as given by responsible persons in the areas at hand; wherever the figures are specifically stated, it may be assumed that they are "official", in that they have been taken from printed, secondary sources--generally local newspapers, in quotation of Election Board reports.

This apparently casual view of one aspect of the status of the Negro vote is due neither to neglect, irresponsibility, or a lack of appreciation of the importance of statistical precision. Rather, it arises in view of the circumstances of the study in which, on the one hand, time to be spent in any one community was a pressing factor, so that, on the other hand, preliminary inquiries were directed at local leaders as to the general registration and voting picture. Throughout the areas--Middle, Western, and Eastern Tennessee--as visited, the results were that local leaders generally advised that an attempt to secure accurate counts of Negro registration and voting performance for the years since 1947 would not be feasible within these limits of the study, for the following reasons:

1 - "Permanent registration" in the state means not only that lists are, evenso, constantly subject to change upon the conditions of a voter's change of residence or remarriage as reported (or not) to the Registration or Election Board offices, but more: Although, officially, registrants are recorded without reference to race, this may be a matter of the particular registrar's inclination in the case of literate voters--so that some records do show such a symbol as (N), or (Col), besides the Negro voter's name on the list, in comparison with (W), for Whites, while others do not; for illiterate voters, besides, indications of race may usually be recorded by election officials at the polls /Note Supplementary Materials/; but that, beyond these loose guides, there are no assurances as to the possibilities for actually counting Negro voters.

2 - The count may be undertaken--but laboriously by persons familiar enough with the local scene to be aware of the wards and precincts--and zoning tracts--in which Negroes live, and who may have the additional capacity to recognize the listing of colored voters by name, when no racial indication appears. Since, however, housing areas in most of the metropolitan centers find Negroes living in some blocks with Whites in spite of segregation otherwise, this requires either the

time of one such skilled person over a period, or of several working together to compress the time, to weed the lists. Generally, interviewees report, this is just what does occur when political action is contemplated--with this additional complication,

3 - Registration lists must be bought, if they are to be examined at length, and they are expensive. The Registrar's office may provide lists already reproduced, to selected applicants, for a fee--or an alternative procedure may be allowed in that organizations or groups may hire typists or other persons to copy the lists on hand after normal office-hours. In this latter choice, evenso, one organization's director estimated that the cost of obtaining these lists ran around $200-$300.

4 - "Total" registration figures may thus be readily available from official sources, while "Negro" registration, as such, may--or may not be--contingent upon the interest of the local office in racial distinctions among voters and the count accordingly--or, in addition, upon the organized efforts of local Negro groups during specific registration campaigns, during which their own records may (or may not) be precisely kept. (As contrasting examples, for instance, in Nashville--the Middle Tennessee area--although the local NAACP had waged an active registration campaign and had attempted to provide workers with cards to be returned, actually reporting voters' action in response, leaders candidly admitted that there is to date no precise indication of just how many qualified voters actually were registered. In Memphis, on the other hand, Negro leaders offered estimates gauged by their own varying counts, but backed by Election Board figures which, in this city, apparently were kept.)

5 - What figures of Negro population, then, indicate is usually the potentiality for qualified voting strength, once the age-distribution of the population is verified, and the actual eligibility of voters in any one year may be a moot point. Some Negro leaders suggested, in fact, that many persons who have not met the requirements to vote in two general elections, every other year, or to report marriage (in the case of a woman) or change of name, or a residential move, may still be reluctant to admit this neglect. The checks of organizations are thus also affected by the possible embarrassment of persons who hesitate to report to persons whom they know in the community that they have not registered, or did not vote, and so say "Yes", in response to queries, when, for accurate record-keeping, a truthful "No" should be the reply.

On the whole, therefore, it may be said that for Tennessee in 1956, and a numerical index of just "where does the Negro vote stand today?", the circumstances appear to be very comparable to Jackson's conclusions for SRC in 1948--that "it is all but impossible to get exact figures..., since registration and election results are seldom recorded by race." Those that follow, however, are the indices we have been able to gain:

. 1956: REGISTRATION IN AUGUST 2 PRIMARY AND VOTING: Estimates . (Variations)*.

SOURCE	REGISTRATION		VOTING		TOTAL N/W	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Regis	Voting
Middle Tennessee Area: Nashville--Davidson County .						
Tennesseean Aug. 2					150,000	45,000
Day (NAACP Campaign)	8-9,000	(141,000)				
Western Tennessee Area: Memphis--Shelby County .						
Commercial Appeal, Aug 5					194,577	57,088
Defender, Aug. 4 (official count)	49,345	(145,232)	13,000- (less than)	(44,088)		

*Other estimates of Negro Registration ranged from 39,000 to 49,354, and of Negro Voting from 10,000 to 12-15,000. Predictions or estimates of the total vote ranged from 50,000 to 150,000.

Estimates of the number of Negroes registered through the special campaign of the Non-Partisan Voters League ranged from 4-5000, 5-6000, 9000, to 12-15,000, dependent upon the source. Another impression could be reported that, on the whole, "60% of eligible Negroes register, 60% of the registered vote."

SOURCE	REGISTRATION		VOTING		TOTAL N/W	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Regis	Voting
Eastern Tennessee Area: Knoxville--Knox County . Oak Ridge--Anderson County .						
Journal, (Knoxville) July 29					120,000	42,000+ (more than)
Whitelaw "	10,000	(110,000)	3,000	(39,000)		
Scott, (Oak Ridge)	300	(13,700)			14,000	
Eastern Tennessee Area: Chattanooga--Hamilton County .						
Free Press, Aug. 1					97,300	
Times, Aug. 3						23,950
Times,(Aug. 2)						(22,000) (predicted)
W-Robinson	15-16,000	+(82,300)*	3-4,000	+(19,000)*	(*)	

*Other estimates of total registration ranged from 95-100,000--with 21,000 as the estimated total vote in the latter instance, "1 in 5 registered for the city as a whole, 1 in 6 for Negroes"--as against 24,000 as total in the former case, and an estimated 1 in 4 vote for Negroes as for Whites.

. 1956: VOTING FOR CANDIDATES INVOLVED IN SEGREGATION/INTEGRATION AS A POLITICAL ISSUE: Selected Examples .

(a) Total Voting Figures, August 2 Primary and General Election, without reference to Race:

In the following cases, candidates were openly committed to a point of view which is not to be precisely interpreted, however, as "pro-integration" as a campaign stand. The commitments on this issue are relative, although the differences were considered to be real as factors in the election. In Middle Tennessee, for instance, whereas Priest and Bass represented the more "liberal" position, this was because of a wobbly, rather than firm, position on the Southern Manifesto: Priest signed the first, and retracted his position by refusing to sign the second. Bass signed the first, with the subsequent rationalization that he had considered it meaningless--only a "political document." In this sense, the other candidates were contrasted mainly in that they were decisively for segregation and/or "states' rights." From the entire electorate, the returns in these campaigns showed for

Middle Tennessee--Congressional Race.(incomplete returns?)*

	5th District		6th District
Priest	20,590	Bass	45,109*
Fulton	9,621	Sutton	15,473
		Carrigan	4,940

In this area, two other races were marked by the weight of strategic Negro support, although the segregation/integration issue did not figure openly as a major campaign position:

State Senator 16th District

(In this race, Allen was being supported by a local NAACP leader in Nashville, because of his past assistance in opposition to the Stainback Bill and potentialities for future resistance to pro-segregation legislation. Primarily, however, his was an anti-Clement, anti-tax-increase platform. The vote:)

Allen (Clifford)	15,895
Cornelius	12,182

Floterial Representative 15th District

(Here the main fight was between two labor men, and "Smokey" Phillips was marked as the pro-Clement man against Victor Ellis. Ellis was supported strongly by "liberal" elements in the Tennessee State Trade Union group, which included active Negro workers in his behalf. The vote:)

Ellis	8,462
Phillips ("Smokey")	6,909
Phillips (A.L.)(pro-seg)	3,691

Eastern Tennessee--Chattanooga--State Senator:

(Here the issue was clear-cut between a stand for *segregation* as "separate but equal" and against *immediate* integration. Also, however, this issue was linked in some significant races with others: Cash was the incumbent and "separate but equal", but also the "Right-to-Work" (open shop) candidate, supported strongly by manufacturing and business interests. Case, who entered the race only three weeks before election, was the *pro-Labor* champion who rejected commitment on the *segregation/integration* issue on the grounds that this should not be allowed to destroy good human relations locally between the races. Ragon was pro-segregationist, as a main issue. Cullom was the Negro candidate. The vote:)

Cash	7,340
Case	6,202
Ragon	3,791
Cullom	312

State Representative --Nominations for the House:

(In the following rase, also for the state General Assembly, Aymon was a "separate but equal" but otherwise "liberal" incumbent whose physical handicap as a blind man was also said to give him, politically, a "sympathy appeal" with local voters; Crutchfield and Moore ran with pro-segregation and states' rights as definite planks--including, on Moore's part, a specific plan for legislation to be introduced by him (as a lawyer) to maintain segregation in the schools; Chambliss, a distinguished older lawyer, refused to respond to pro-segregationist interrogation on this issue and was labelled as "evasive" by these groups; the other candidates varied in their commitments, with general results as follows:)

Won:	Aymon	8,154	(Others:)	
	Crutchfield	7,940		
	Moore	6,653	Cagle	5,059
	Chambliss	5,851	Bruno	4,686
			Meacham	3,428
			Malone	1,115
			McBrien	788
			Norton	558

Sheriff Tax Assessor

(Locally, in Chattanooga, the sheriff's race was marked by the strong support of Maddox by the Negro weekly, the *Observer*, and its "political leader" manager, Walter Robinson. The stated position of this candidate, as that of Selcer, for tax assessor, was simply "equal" treatment for all, regardless of "race, color, creed." Kimbrough, however, was said to be supported in the Sheriff's race by strongly pro-segregationist Judge Schoolfield. Maddox, the triumphant Republican candidate, was supported generally on the strength of his commitment to *law enforcement*.

Mowery was openly scornful and critical of the "controlled ward" vote, in his race as tax assessor. (Day, the Independent sheriff's candidate, had been a city policeman.) The votes)

(Sheriff)		(Tax Assessor)	
Maddox	10,023	Selcer	11,846
Kimbrough	9,705	Mowery	7,117
Day	342		

(b) Negro Voting Preferences, August 2 Primary and General Election:

Middle and Eastern Tennessee (Knoxville) . (Nashville) .

Nashville: The most significant race for the year, as far as the interest of Nashville Negroes was concerned, was not among those in this primary and general election, it appears, but the special councilmanic election of July 26: Here, to represent the 5th Ward, 2nd District, a Negro grocer ran against a White minister. Results of this election will be noted under the next topic. As to the August 2 campaign, by general impression only, it appears that there were scattered blocs of Negro interest to support the campaign of Priest against Fulton, Allen against Cornelius, as previously indicated—and of Mrs. Brown Taylor, who swept her ticket in the race for the state legislature as a "working man"'s candidate. One candidate, Horton, was supported by the Negro councilmanic candidate, Otey, as an exchange of favors for aid in the latter's unsuccessful campaign. One Negro, Gentry , who ran for Constable, also received some active Negro support, though he lost his race.

Knoxville: In Knoxville, beyond the general Democratic trend in the county, it was said to be impossible to verify Negro voting preferences for particular candidates except on a ward-by-ward-precinct basis. A comparison of the following figures of estimated proportion of Negro population in these wards, with the charts of General Election and Primary Returns in the August 3 News-Sentinel, will show wide variation in Negro allegiances to various candidates, by party or by platform: (Estimates by Carl Cowan, Ass't District Attorney).

City:	Ward	% Negro: Estimate
	1	80
	3	95
	5	100?
	7	95
	8	95-98
	9	50
	9 - 5th precinct	75-80
	12	75
	14 (middle)	75-67
	14 (west: once all White)	100
	15 - 3rd precinct	65
	21 (only 40 White voters?)	98
	22	40

County:	(%)	
Dante (about 1/4; many moved out)	25	
Ellistown	65)	adjoining
S. Kinkston	65)	

It is in the next two regions, however--as marked by Shelby and Hamilton County races in Western and Eastern Tennessee--that Negro preferences (or performance) in these particular instances are sharply revealing:

Western Tennessee--(Memphis/Stewartville)--Shelby County:

Memphis . Of the total registered voters in Memphis, approximately 180,000 were said to be Democrats, approximately 10,000 Republicans. Here, through the particular emphases of Negro Republican leader George W. Lee's leadership, for the local colored community, "Civil Rights" became established as a partisan campaign issue. That, on the whole, Republicans polled an unusually high vote in the August 2 primary and general election (from a customary "around 3,000 to nearer 10,000 this year", according to one estimate)--this was attributed greatly to Lee's influence. As candidate for State committeeman, he was not only the one Negro who ran successfully in this race, but he led his ticket as an individual--while losing, nevertheless, political control of the Committee to the opposing New Guard Republican group, through the defeat of his other Old Guard-Hamilton Club nominees. Of the 13,000 local Negroes who voted among a registered group of 49,345--"approximately 8,000 including some Whites" were reported to have voted Republican, and more than 6,000 for the Democrats, including some votes for the "Citizens for Progress," "Keep Memphis and Shelby County Down in Dixie," pro-segregation ticket. (As we have indicated throughout, the anti-Crump machine, Good Local Government League, Democratic group rejected segregation as a campaign issue, while expressing opposition to integration as a matter of personal conviction. /Note supplementary materials./)

Negro candidates sponsored by Lee's Republican faction polled the following votes:

State Senator:	McCleave	5,400
Direct Representative:	Bradford (leading his ticket)	6,443
	Spencer (3rd among 11 running, 7 to be nominated)	4,758

Generally, in the Democratic Primary race for Direct Representative, interest centered in James T. Walker, the Negro candidate running as an Independent. On a slate of 19, the leader of whom polled over 36,000 votes, he ran 15th--with a total city vote of 6,247.

In the heavily populated Negro areas, the following report from the Tri-State Defender, August 11, shows the relationship between the vote given the two Negro candidates for Direct Representative (Walker, Independent /Democrat/; Bradford, Old Guard Republican) and that given the White candidate, Bertucci, running on the Democratic, "Citizens for Progress"--pro-segregation/states' rights platform--in Memphis:

Candidate	Vote in "Heavily Negro" Wards and Precincts (Top Numbers)					
(Negro):	5th	60-2	40-2	40-1	11-1	47-1
Bradford (Repub)	74	165	5	83	173	60
Walker (Ind-Dem)	72	107	58	159	99	12
Total Negro:	146	272(*)	63	242	272	72
(White):						
Bertucci (Dem-CP)	24	239	234	54	22	94

Here it can be seen that, if indicated by voting performance, preferences for Negro candidates were pronounced in 3 of the 6 colored wards; that although (*) in the 4th of these wards, Negro candidates received a majority of colored votes, no doubt, as well, this majority is relatively close--as it is also in a 5th case (47th ward, 1st precinct, as noted above) where the White candidate polled more, but only slightly more, votes than the Negro; and that, in one instance (40th ward, 2nd precinct), preferences for the White candidate were expressed with an overwhelming majority. In other words, it would appear that half the voters represented in these 6 wards strongly voted for the Negro candidate, and that in the remaining half 2/3 of the voters were divided in their allegiances, and 1/3 were for the pro-segregation winner.

To these assumptions, however, there must be obvious limits, in that the actual proportion of Negro voters in each ward is not actually known (are there more White than Negro voters in the 40th, for instance, in spite of the fact that, in total population it may be "heavily colored"?), nor is the extent of loyalty or organization along "party", rather than racial, lines--to indicate but two of the possible factors. In any case, where the picture in Shelby County's largest city is a mixed one, with complications to be weighed before any precise interpretation, in the county itself the Negro voting performance and its direction in overwhelming favor of the White, pro-segregation candidate is clear. (or--in favor of retaining the good will of these counties' boss.)

Stewartville . On the whole, in the Stewartville area, in the county, in fact, the Defender reported that the effects of the local Negro school principals' efforts to "instruct" rural colored voters were undoubtedly successful for the "Citizens for Progress" pro-segregation campaign. /Note supplementary materials./ No CP candidate received less than 586 votes, and others received more than 600--in comparison to those cast for the Negro Independent candidate, Walker: 11. Specifically, in Stewartville, in fact, the vote count was,

	Votes
Republican candidates (on the whole):	None
Bertucci (White; Dem; CP)	654
Walker (Negro; Ind/Dem)	11

Eastern Tennessee--(Chattanooga)--Hamilton County:

Comparatively, in the Eastern Tennessee area, the performance of Negroes in the city of Chattanooga approached the Memphis picture in the ambivalence of preferences for White candidates involved with segregation as a campaign issue, at the same time that racial loyalties of any significant extent were conspicuously limited in the support given to the one Negro candidate--Cullom, running for state Senator--*if* the indications from the vote in one ward are to any degree representative.

As to the state senator's race, in particular, where interest centered in the opposing positions of Cash--for "equal but separate" segregation "at this time"--and Case (the question of segregation should not be a campaign issue)--Cullom, the Negro candidate, took the strong and forthright stand that the Supreme Court decision was already in law, necessarily to be obeyed. Evenso, his candidacy received negligible attention in the Chattanooga *Observer*, the weekly newspaper in which, as against Cash and Case, the Republican leader, Walter Robinson, took the position that Negroes had little to choose from in voting on the segregation issue alone. /Note comments on "Instruction House" marked ballot, in which Robinson had marked both Cash and Case as "good" candidates, neglecting Cullom, however, altogether./* One Negro interviewee in Chattanooga, nevertheless, pointedly stressed that the "grapevine" word had been passed along that Robinson's "controlled ward" vote should go for Cash--and that, moreover, his reversal in a previously-given promise to work actively for Case accounted greatly for the failure of the more "liberal" Labor candidate among colored voters, in the 4th Wd. */Note in supplementary materials, also, that larger space was bought, as paid advertising, emphasizing his stand on the segregation problem, by Case, in Robinson's paper, the *Observer*--than by Cash, whose ads in the Negro press, in contrast to those in the White, omitted reference to segregation altogether./ In any event, of 211 votes cast by colored members of Robinson's 4th Ward, 130 went for candidates who were openly *pro*-segregation and White, while 81 went for the more "liberal" candidates--the lesser vote, even here, however, going to the campaigner who was Negro, running on a firmly *pro*-law, integration, platform. Specifically, the count follows: (as from Chattanooga *Times*, Aug 3)

State Senator	4th Ward (Negro) Vote
(Pro-segregation candidates:)	
Cash	126
Ragon	4
("Liberal" candidates:)	
Case	48
Cullom (Negro)	33

Similarly, in the race for Tennessee Representative, the one significant candidate who took a stand against the introduction of the segregation issue in the campaign was the lawyer, Chambliss, who lost--as fourth among the 10 candidates of whom only the top 3 could be winners.(As already indicated here, to one degree or another these "top 3" were all for segregation.) Running 6th in the total vote was the candidate, Bruno--who, in the 4th ward vote, however, was predominantly first. As to the other four candidates, the majority of the Negro votes here went to the "separate but equal" segregationists, but it is notable that among the 163 votes for these 3, in contrast to the 40 cast for Chambliss, the majority distribution differed from that in the total vote in the stronger preference indicated for Crutchfield as against Moore (proponent of a "keep segregation in our school" legislative plan). Specifically, this vote counted:

Tennessee Representative	4th Ward (Negro) Vote		
*(Pro-Interposition)	(Note:)	Bruno	205*
**(Pro-segregation candidates:)			
Crutchfield	125**		
Aymon	25**		
Moore	13**		
("Liberal" candidate)			
Chambliss	40		

In this list, as given, Bruno's place may be attributed, one interviewee suggested, to his relationship to the Chattanooga Republican organization as a strongly pro-Eisenhower candidate, behind whom there was "lots of that Republican money--which naturally made him Walter Robinson's man for the 4th Ward"; Crutchfield, too, was said to have been liberal with money--"especially among the women of various groups like the Sewing Circle whom he had always helped with little community favors, and like that, beforehand; as a lawyer, he had always been nice in his way--that way of being nice as long as you keep in that 'place'--so he spread money around among some of these women, too, and got them to get people to work for him"; in contrast, Chambliss, who was a "drafted" candidate at the outset, who refused to wage an active campaign in the city as a whole, had a "lack of money", as one interviewee put it, to mark his name on the 4th Ward list--and only "those you can't buy" reacted to his distinguished career and position on integration, it was said, in voting for him. Although Bruno, in some similarity to Chambliss, did not promote pro-segregation as a campaign issue, it was a matter of some surprise to Negro "Liberals" that, in spite of being thought of as "nice" also before the campaign, he had "come out for that Interposition business"--so that these voters rejected him, in contrast to the larger number in the 4th Ward who did not.

This would be the summation of the picture of Negro voting performance on this issue, in the primary and election in Chattanooga--if the 4th Ward represented the situation wherever colored voters were heavily populated. In one respect only, however, as to the major race--for State Senator--did this appear to be true:

Despite the apparent indications of the published commitment of the Negro candidate, Cullom, in regard to the Supreme Court Decision and the necessary acceptance of integration efforts--beyond the 4th Ward he was rejected generally by Negro voters in relationship to White candidates, but for reasons other than this direct issue. Fundamentally, interviewees agreed, "Nobody really wanted him to win because he didn't measure up--on either an intellectual or moral basis." Impressions were numerous, in fact, that this was a "sham" candidacy promoted by the strongly pro-segregationist Schoolfield forces with the nefarious design to split the Negro vote while also subtly reenforcing the stereotype of the inadequacy of possible Negro representation in the state legislature. In this instance, "nobody knew anything about him--what he did to make a living or anything--in the Negro community, except hang out with bootleggers," as one interviewee put it, "or keep filled up with what they sell."

Senatorial Race, Cash/Case--Other Negro Wards . If Cullom was not "the candidate who should represent us", to many voters--in all wards heavily populated by Negroes except the 4th, Case was the preferred choice on the explicit issue of Cash's position on segregation. In the following wards and precincts, the Negro population picture was as significant as in the 4th:

12th Ward,	4th Precinct	"Solidly Negro"
7th -	2nd	
8th	)	"All heavily Negro"
5th	)	
19th -	1st	
9th -	1st	"Basically half/half N-W"

Here the cumulative vote for Case was over 300--as against 48 for Cash.

Sheriff's Race . Negro voters in these wards joined those in Robinson's 4th in their support of Maddox, the Republican candidate for sheriff--who carried the 4th by 337 to 198 for Kimbrough, his Democratic opponent who was said also to have Schoolfield's quiet backing--but, in this case their preference was shared by the majority of the total voters in Chattanooga, in a race closely run.

Relationships: East/West--and Middle--Tennessee re Negro Candidates:

In Eastern Tennessee, no Negro ran for office in this primary or election in Knoxville, but in Chattanooga it can now be seen that the one colored candidate was significantly rejected by colored voters in the main, on the grounds of his inadequacy in, as one interviewee put it, "Knowledge, Know-How, Character--all three," as a senatorial possibility for the Tennessee state government. Here, it may be mentioned, there was one factor, but not the only one marking the responses of colored voters to Negro campaigners in other areas: "Character", for prospective Negro representatives, was weighed warily as a campaign-qualification in the colored community where the issue was to "place before the White public one of our own"--but Knowledge and Know-How were considered to be equally significant.

In the Memphis race for the legislature, this proved to be especially true. Here, in terms of "character," Walker, the Negro candidate, had achieved general approval and popularity as "a good young man"--whose physical handicap as a lame man who necessarily walked with a cane had not prevented his courageous involvement in civic affairs, with the particular support, direction, and assistance, of a local Negro woman school teacher, Miss Willa Mae McWilliams. Where there was resistance to this candidate, among interviewees here, it was expressed with the ambivalent attitudes of admiration for Miss McWilliams' contributions to the Walker campaign--in intelligence, activity, and courageous expression of "liberal" views in a decidedly forceful fashion even when confronted by leading, pro-segregationist Whites--and the disinclination to accept her aggressive role in substitution for what should be Walker's more direct contribution. To be candid, in communities as closely knit as Negro neighborhoods, many personal factors, which, as such, are tastefully evaded in public considerations of candidates, also affect other Negro voters' responses: "Are we electing Jimmie Walker or his girl friend--all we can hear from Willa Mae is 'When *we* get to Nashville'--are we trying to elect *him* or '*we*'...?" Such conventionally "petty" reservations which accompanied, evenso, the admission that this was a hard-working team for the good of the community to an extremely "unselfish" degree, punctured the qualifications-picture of the individual candidate himself: "Willa Mae has done a lot for Jimmie, he's grown a lot since they've been friendly, for he only finished the 8th grade or so around here--but when he gets down to the ground *by himself* in those legislative sessions, will he be able to stand up *along*? Seems to me," as this interviewee continued, "that we've got a lot of more *representative* young men around here, well-prepared lawyers and all like that, who could really *cope* with those crackers when they bring up all this unfriendly legislation as they're sure *get* to do--but, well, why didn't these *better-prepared* young men run? That's just the trouble. . .!"

If such views may have been rationalizations for other resistances to voting for the Negro candidate, as against the White, they no less seemed to serve to "justify" voting performance--along with other reasons. These *other reasons* generally summed up to indicate the importance opportunistically attached to predictable success for the candidate in whatever would be his race --the inclination of "being with the winner" outweighing that for "being with the *possibly* 'right' man." In the Stewartville area, in the county, indeed, the rationalization was mixed with ignorance in the protest that "Walker couldn't win--it's impossible for him to win in the Republican primary"--when the fact was that this candidate ran as an Independent, Democrat. This latter political position gave him a difficult place on the ballot, as in a field where many voters found primary allegiances confusing, but it did not prevent his 'having a chance' if he had been fully supported by Negro voters, as he was not.

Despite his loss of a prestige-role in the control of the Republican State Committee, through the failure of other Old Guard-Hamilton Club candidates during this same campaign, the contrast, in Memphis, between the showing of Walker and George W. Lee remains real: Here organizational *Knowledge* and *Know-How*, with all the obvious limitations, were joined to the local image of what should be a "representative Negro" figure in successful political activity. Lee's appeals to colored voters stressed "civil rights" unequivocably as a partisan Republican political issue--in opposition to the strong "CP", or weak "GLGL", but evenso, unanimously pro-segregation, local Democratic positions. Beyond this, however, he had established the reputation (whether or not the reality, as some interviewees questioned) of being a "solid" community figure--a "good business man" as well as (Tri-State *Defender*, Aug 11) "a stout-hearted fighter and able politician", with at least "a fair organization." As an individual candidate for State committeeman, therefore, he led his Republican ticket with 7619 votes of the little more than 8,000 total cast in his party's primary in the city. Other factors in Negro voting performance and preferences for Negro candidates here, as elsewhere, were also important, and shall be discussed in other contexts throughout this report.

On this point, however, we shall next turn to Middle Tennessee--and to other elections at other times throughout the state--to observe additionally how Negro candidates have fared at the hands of colored voters.

(c) Negro Voting Preferences, Other Elections--Selected Examples:

Middle Tennessee: Nashville . Negro/White candidates .

That there may be multiple factors--in the combination of "the man", his expected competence in the political arena, as well as the stand on racial or other issues--to arouse the Negro voter is impressively indicated by the responses in other elections in Nashville. Here, interest in registration was said to have arisen thirteen years ago, in 1943, when the first "try" in forty years was made by a colored candidate to run for the City Council. This candidate, Alexander Looby, as an esteemed local attorney, nevertheless, made two unsuccessful races--the second in 1947--before his election in 1951, about one month before, in fact, a second Negro, Robert Lillard, was also elected to represent another district in this city. Looby's campaign slogan for the successful years (including his reelection in 1955) stemmed from his call that "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny", with full emphasis upon demands for civil rights. In addition, however, he had profited from a social climate, during the early race, in which such an event as the Columbia, S. C. Race Riot had tripled memberships in the local NAACP with which he was a prime leadership force--but, more than this, from a review of such mistakes in organization as "announcing too early" for a campaign which would become stalemated by the time election-time had arrived. In his latest race for reelection to the Council, therefore, in which a local Negro undertaker joined a White candidate in running against his platform, Looby's showing was overwhelmingly in the majority vote-column:

(Negro Candidates)	Vote for Councilman
Looby	1000
Gardiner	300
(White candidate)	25

1956 Councilmanic Race.. Similarly, during this year when the White councilman of the 5th Ward, 2nd district, died suddenly, calling for a special election on July 12, John Otey, the Negro grocer, made a highly impressive showing against a White minister, Ernest Craft, though he lost the election by 245 votes. In this instance, the two precincts involved were marked by racial majorities in population. The 3rd precinct, Hadley Park, was nearly "all-colored," including the area around A&I state college, with a voting strength of 2500, including 25 White voters. In the adjacent 4th precinct, McCann School, the population was primarily White, with a voting strength of 2000, including 25 or 30 Negroes. For the special "run-off" election for nominees on July 12, a total of 2,167 votes were cast, with an increase of 462 votes in the July 26 election, making a total of 2,629.

Here, where both Negro and White candidates were said to be "fine gentlemen," for "progressive government and living standards for the whole people," whose campaigns were decidedly influenced by racial allegiances, but who verbalized their positions "at a high level," as Otey put it--here the results were, by precincts,

Candidate	Total Vote:	(3rd, Hadley Pk--mostly Negro)	(4th, McCann Schl--mostly White)
Otey (Col)	1,192	1,132	60
Craft (W)	1,437	64	1,373

The showing of the Negro candidate was "good"--but "not good enough"--in an area, it was said, where the usual participation of White voters in this campaign was about 800 to the Negroes' 1500, so that, in order to *win*, as one interviewee put, the colored population was forced to recognize that it had contributed "too little, too late." At the same time, however, local judgments were that, through his showing, the Negro candidate became "a power to be reckoned with" in the district, and served, through his race, the useful function of having colored voters in the ward who had been derelict in their actual participation "recognize the power of the ballot against Whites --because we'd had a White Councilman all along, most Negroes didn't have the experience of thinking we could win, but now they have seen how close it was, if more of them--just a *little more*--had put their votes in... ."

1951 Mayor's Race. The classic example repeated locally in Nashville as to the strategic importance of Negro voting performance--and the possibly tangible rewards through the subsequent dispensation of patronage--is the achievement imputed to the "Solid Bloc". This political organizational effort will be discussed elsewhere in this report, as it developed from the impetus of certain Negro leadership to effect racial gains in politics locally. Within the present context it is sufficient to point out that the complications behind generalizations are real as to the factors involved in Negro voting preferences--for White, as for Negro candidates--but that the pro-segregation/integration issue *alone* may or may *not* be the persuasive goad to response. In the 1951 mayoralty campaign in Nashville, the present incumbent, Ben West, was supported intensely by the Negro "Solid Bloc", and was diligent in his appeals to, public appearances before, and distribution of church- and other contributions in, the colored community. At the same time, as an individual personality, this candidate was not as favorably regarded by Negro voters as his opponent, who received the majority of their ballots. The minority "Bloc", however, which did support his cause was believed to have swung the election as a whole in his favor--so that he won by 51 (conceivably Negro) votes. This performance has brought its own racially marked rewards, accordingly--as later here we shall see.

Others: ...*Governor's Race*--*1954*--and *Presidential Election*--*1952* . In the two further examples that follow, for the Middle Tennessee area, the strong influence of party-allegiances in this generally Democratic area can be seen as a further dimension of the Negro voter's choice, including all previous considerations.

These checks by wards and precincts of the showing of White candidates for president, in 1952, for U. S. congressman, senator, or state Governor, in 1954, have been compiled by a Fisk University student, in terms of a Social Science class assignment, and are presented here for two major reasons. In the first instance, it can be seen that, on the whole, these voters not only went for "party", but for "liberal" candidates in the major elections, around which there is traditionally more voting consciousness of the issues and the men, as well as more skillfully organized effort to stir this concern.

Secondly, however, it can be observed that the difficulty of obtaining an accurate picture of Negro voting performance is also real--as long as the present system of record-keeping in registration obtains. These checks were all made by hand, and by individual count, so that in these specific instances we may have the following more numerically precise picture of Negro performance and preference in registration and voting--in at least two cases:

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A.

Check by Wards and Precincts (WD; Pr) of Registration and Voting by Non-White (Non-W) \Occupants of Housing Units, Nashville, Tennessee--and Voting Performance, with Indicated Preferences for Stevenson and Eisenhower, as Democratic and Republican Dandidates in Nov. 4, 1952 Elections .

	OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS			REGIS VOTERS	VOTED NOV. 4, 1952						Estim Non-W Voters
							STEVENSON		EISENHOWER		
	Total	Non-W	% Non-W	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
WD I											
Pr 1	1197	114	10.5	38.5	1025	57.2	795	77.6	202	19.7	108
2	783	686	88.	42.0	692	30.4	501	72.4	162	23.4	609
3	1334	517	38.8	33.7	835	49.8	606	72.57	186	22.27	324
4	1311	69	5.2	34.3	769	47.4	599	77.89	140	18.2	40
5	1696	1443	85.	27.4	526	31.4	387	73.57	85	16.16	447
6	503	323	64.	60.4	303	26.9	175	57.1	123	40.6	194
	6824	3154	46.2								1722
WD II											
Pr 1	813	312	38.	44.5	399	37.0	242	60.	133	33.	152
2	1046	716	68	29.0	368	37.1	277	75.3	82	22.3	250
3	1013	784	77	25.5	292	29.6	191	65.	80	27.	225
4	1254	340	27	33.1	522	39.1	380	72.8	121	23.2	141
5	1516	1285	85	34.0	642	33.2	480	74.8	111	17.	546
6	1032	681	65.9	35.4	548	41.7	415	75.7	107	19.5	361
	6674	4128	61.8								1675
WD III											
Pr 1	1120	305	27.	45.8	918	50.9	558	60.8	334	36.4	248
2	1198	675	56.	37.4	887	52.7	556	62.7	289	32.6	497
3	1208	985	81.5	27.9	471	41.6	321	68.2	107	22.7	384
4	1162	146	12.6	60.7	1465	64.2	982	67.	466	31.8	185
5	1460	546	37.	41.6	1012	49.5	591	58.4	462	45.7	374
6	1319	4	.3	56.0	1592	64.3	957	60.8	595	27.4	5
	7467	2661	35.6								1695
WD IV											
Pr 1	1426	37	.26	58.9	1761	68.2	935	43.1	778	34.2	5
2	1966	21	1.0	70.6	2879	67.5	271	44.1	1611	55.9	29
3	1405	8	.56	74.7	1806	62.9	825	35.7	944	42.3	10
4	1399	4	.3	67.8	1938	65.7	844	33.6	1047	54.	6
5	1313	15	1.	47.0	1510	51.2	760	37.5	747	36.7	15
	7509	85	1.1								65
WD V											
Pr 1	1641	1582	96.	28.4	635	36.4	448	70.6	136	21.4	610
2	1010	905	89.6	34.8	769	50.7	544	70.7	166	21.5	689
3	1370	200	87.6	90.2	1190	21.0	886	64.5	262	20.2	1042 (*)
4	1156	78	6.7	44.6	1111	54.7	864	67.8	184	6.6	74
5	928	220	23.7	42.1	843	54.6	677	80.2	148	17.5	200
6	1234	4	.3	48.2	1260	57.5	929	63.7	295	34.1	4
7	935		.0	52.3	1133	71.6	775	58.4	324	18.6	--
	8274	2989	36.1								2619

	OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS			REGIS VOTERS	VOTED NOV. 4, 1952						Estim Non-W Voters
	Total	Non-W	% Non-W	%	Nb.	%	STEVENSON No.	%	EISENHOWER No.	%	
WD VI											
Pr 1	1297	76	5.8	40.0	1176	56.9	821	59.8	323	17.5	68
2	1281	170	13.	48.2	830	48.1	633	76.3	182	21.9	108
3	954	39	4.	46.0	1021	66.5	717	60.2	300	19.4	41
4	1104	309	27.9	52.0	1013	54.1	725	61.6	267	16.4	283
5	901	282	31.	30.8	377	36.1	301	79.	63	15.9	117
	5537	876	15.8								617
WD VII											
Pr 1	1309	28	2.1	49.7	1376	64.2	866	64.8	516	37.3	29
Pr 2	1204	5	.42	55.5	1414	02.3	871	60.3	573	39.7	6
Pr 3	1118	--	.0	52.2	1196	64.3	836	61.6	322	16.9	0
5	1359	44	3.2	40.7	728	46.2	298	40.9	199	27.3	23
6	1160	193	1616	30.2	773	55.4	591	76.5	144	18.6	128
	7552	314	4.2								215

NOTE: This chart, for a closer check, should be related to a second chart prepared for this same study. In explanation of the land map of the City of Nashville, prepared by the City Planning Commission, Feb. 26, 1947, "for public convenience," and showing Wards, Councilmanic Districts, and Precincts--further figures are given to show census tract divisions covering each Ward with its inclusive precincts per tract, the number of blocks, total population and non-White, with the latter's percentage of the whole.

Basically, 1950 census figures for the City of Nashville showed:

Total Population	174,307	
Non-White	54,726	(31.4 of total population)
Negro	54,696	
Other Races	30	(.05 of Non-Whites)

As examples, the chart indicates such data as the following:

	Number of Blocks	Total Population	Non-White	%
Tract I - WARD I				
Pr 1	46	8608	746	18.6
4	51			
5	3			
.....				
Tract VI -WARD I				
Pr 6	All	538	193	35.9

ETC.: (Full details may be further secured, if required, from Prof. Vivien Henderson, Dept. of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., who will have the original work-sheets (Howard) on Voting Data, 1952, on hand.)

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B.

Check by Wards and Precincts--1954 Elections, Nashville, Tennessee--of Negro Voting Performance* for Candidates for U. S. House of Representatives, Senate, and Governor.

WD -	Pr	U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PRIEST (Dem)	DONIKI (Repub)	SENATE KEFAUVER (Dem)	WALL (Repub)	GOVERNOR CLEMENT (Dem)	NEAL (Rep)	Total Vote
I	1	216	5	203	11	213	4	234
	2	69	7	74	16	78	4	93
	3	138	4	137	15	137	4	
	4	130	5	134	9	133	2	153
	5	32	6	31	4	32	2	40
	6	61	15	58	18	60	9	80
		646	42	637	73	653	25	
II	1	98	8	89	10	94	6	109
	2	38	5	39	7	4	1	49
	3	22	3	25	13	33	2	
	4	135	2	132	13	128	6	
	5	66	3	75	6	79	0	89
	6	60	5	68	8	71	0	84
		419	26	428	57	409	15	
III	1	156	21	144	38	156	11	
	2	150	12	144	36	148	6	188
	3	57	6	61	17	63	2	86
	4	305	10	289	26	293	14	340
	5	220	37	206	65	212	25	286
	6	405	21	386	43	388	29	445
		1293	107	1230	225	1260	87	
IV	1	412	43	364	92	398	29	469
	2	278	37	242	74	263	27	334
	3	445	69	400	129	434	47	551
	4	435	70	394	116	424	31	550
	5	297	30	270	56	291	27	349
	6	453	78	405	143	444	60	571
		2320	327	2075	610	2254	221	
V	1	66	8	75	15	77	8	90
	2	72	11	73	27	80	4	109
	3	116	11	129	21	137	3	
	4	207	6	214	7	208	3	225
	5	178	6	174	11	174	2	196
	6	316	13	305	26	302	11	350
	7	376	14	355	28	363	17	401
		1331	69	1325	135	1341	48	

WD	Pr	U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PRIEST (Dem)	DONIKI (Repub)	SENATE KEFAUVER (Dem)	WALL (Repub)	GOVERNOR CLEMENT (Dem)	NEAL (Rep)	Total Vote
VI	1	196	15	191	21	198	5	226
	2	161	2	157	3	157	3	174
	3	267	7	256	22	261	5	284
	4	188	15	185	21	186	12	218
	5	45	1	46	3	45	1	50
		857	40	835	70	847	26	
VII	1	355	34	340	52	345	23	411
	2	397	28	366	65	396	10	454
	3	352	13	348	24	341	13	385
	4	203	19	200	25	201	14	243
	5	143	5	137	10	136	7	156
	6	190	9	197	15	191	4	221
		1640	108	1588	191	1610	71	

Western Tennessee: Memphis .

For Memphis also, in other elections, other years, Negroes have voted in large numbers for Negroes--as for "The Man", whether for segregation in public statement or against it--as primarily on this issue, in other cases--or, as for the party. As in the 1956 situation, there have been instances, as a local newspaper editor put it, of the "one dismal thing..., the Negro who through necessity or lack of intestinal fortitude...", or other reasons, has responded only to some specifically opportunistic call to register or vote.

Here, as in Nashville, however, registration has risen remarkably as Negro candidates with wide popular appeal have entered various races--or as White candidates between whom there was considered to be a real choice on issues have competed. In 1951, for instance, when Dr. J. E. Walker, a leading business man and Democrat, was said to have run for the School Board, Negro registration then rose to 9,000, with 7,000 voting--so that 17,000 were registered before the ensuing political campaign. In 1953, when Rev. S. A. Owen campaigned as delegate to the Constitutional Convention, Negro registration rose to 32,000. And when, in 1955, Rev. Roy Love ran for the School Board, the registration figures had climbed to 46,000. This general interest, it was said locally, was further reflected in the Negro vote given to "liberal" Albert Gore, in the 1952 race for the Senate, against McKellar by Negroes, and in that given to Kefauver, in 1954. Here, too, in the 1952 presidential election, Stevenson carried the Negro vote, as he carried the city.

Eastern Tennessee: (Knoxville) Oak Ridge . Chattanooga .

In the East--if not in Knoxville, in Oak Ridge Negroes have joined Whites in voting heavily for colored candidates for the Town Council--two having been successful. In 1952, Dr. Albert Stuart, a chemist with AEC, received the second highest total vote in his first race, at a time when only about 100 Negroes had qualified; 88 of these voted, and of these 84 ballots went to Stuart. In his second race, for which he actually made no campaign, Stuart was reelected, tied for second place in a list of 35 candidates, receiving 90 of the 93 Negro votes cast. Here, in Oak

Ridge, it was emphasized, for the total population, including Negroes, issues were important--and "people, colored and all, voted their interests in terms of the issues." In the wider context, moreover, here, it was said that Negroes were keenly aware of the differences between the campaign platforms of the "liberal" Kefauver, as against the pro-segregationist, demagogic "Pat" Sutton, in the congressional race in which Sutton lost. For Kefauver there were 182 Negro votes, and none for Sutton--of the more than 300 votes cast by Negroes as a whole. Many of these, one interviewee pointed out, would also have gone for Kefauver, but it proved to be a problem to handle the "long and complex ballot--it was in two sections--and the Kefauver versus Sutton part was in the last half of the form; people here voted for Clement against /pro-segregation/ Browning two to one, but by the time they got to Kefauver they were, some of them, tired or confused, didn't want to make a mistake, so didn't vote." This interviewee further protested as to the Oak Ridge colored citizen's voting preferences in performance, "Not many of these people are danged fools. They may pretend to be disinterested, but they come out when they know where they stand... ."

In Chattanooga, during an earlier campaign of this year, 1956, a Negro undertaker, Reuben Strickland, ran in the Commissioner's race, and also was said to have suffered from voters' difficulties with using the machine. With non-partisan backing from a core of Negro community leaders, he gained 500 votes in the run-off election, however, placing 8th in a field of 15. Here, on the whole, in national and other elections, it was said that there remained some "ignorantly stupid" voters who followed blindly the direction of a "controlled ward"'s "boss", but that this number was declining, as was the weight of the "boss"'s influence. It was pointed out by one interviewee that, even in the recent, August 2 primary and general election, out of a possible 3000 votes in Walter Robinson's pivotal 4th Ward, only 571 Negro voters turned out at the polls. In the situation of Case versus Cash, it became clear that, despite the disappointing total participation, among all Negroes who did vote, there was consideration of the position on the segregation issue in terms of the local situation, and of the national political scene (to whatever extent, it is not yet known) in the surprising Democratic trend, and, here, too, "of the best man himself--or of who was backing him."

(d) Negro Voting, Other Counties .

As to other counties in Tennessee, which were not visited during the course of this study, one responsible interviewee reported that there was Negro participation in voting and registration, but that this was generally a "captive" and selectively guided vote. Here, it was suggested, that even in such a county as Haywood, including Brownsville, there have been in times past 2 Negro voters (a point to be discussed in subsequent references), and that in other counties, where there are large Negro populations, a sufficient number of Negroes may be "chosen" by White land-owners to vote so that the balance of predictable power in an election may be assured. Estimates as to the proportion of Negroes in these counties follow, as, for instance, in

	Negro Population?
Murfreesboro	9000
Clarksville	50%
Dyersberg	1 of 3
Obion County	50/50
Gibson	¼ to ½
Trenton, Humboldt, [illegible]	4000 - 7500
Madison	1 in 5
Tipton-Lauderdale	("Few"?)
Hardaman-Bolivar	3 to 1
Fayette-Somerville	50/50

Some personal opinions on the Problem of Increasing Registration and Voting Performance:

Whatever these figures show, it is that, as confused and spotty as the record of Negro performance and preference in voting may appear, the situation in Tennessee does indicate that there are variations in consciousness and drive, and that the explanations can not be glibly put, but must be further explored.

It is clear that, under certain circumstances, even in the apathy, or lethargy, or complacency--the constantly repeated descriptive terms--which marks the general scene, that there are times of decision and action; the question remains, what are the predictably influential factors?

From two interviewees, we have two opinions--the first of which sets forth the problem in a woman civic worker's view, the second of which gives one answer for it:

> (a) The woman says, "Voting? It's the same pattern here /in Nashville, Middle Tennessee/. I am repeating really a personal thing, but it seems to exist among our people. They can feel all right now in regard to registering--paying a poll tax--they don't have to recite something, and all that, as in some places, or they'd be very much concerned. They can belong to the NAACP. They're intelligent enough to read. If they were prohibited--maybe it would be different.
>
> "I say it's just laziness over not accepting responsibility, not wanting to do a job. The election Thursday /August 2 primary and election/ is not too important to people--not important, as it will be this fall. The national--you hear more about it. But the Legislative Assembly--that's even more important to my mind in regard to our own community--because that will be the one to make laws for Tennessee.
>
> "Helping people to get registered--to qualify? We have to do it for this primary by July 13, if necessary, then afterwards we have until up to 20 days before the Nov. 6 election to try to add some more. But this one--I went, starting with my own neighborhood. I was co-chairman for my whole section. I went back of my own street, and I started right next door, at this little house of my new neighbors, who had just changed their residence, just moved in, so needed to register again, I knew.
>
> "I felt good. I said, 'I know I'll get them!' But you know what? That lady said well, first, she'd want to know if she qualified for our November election, she believed there was some kind of permit she'd have to get--and that if she exercised her right in this state, 'inactive governor's' election, she called it, she'd lose that ability to vote in the fall, her ballot would be marked Void. Well, I explained to her that this was all wrong, and she listened, and then I asked, 'When did she vote last?' And she said she didn't remember. Then I offered to take her down myself, in my car, to register and vote--and she just said, 'Well, I don't think I'll vote--I've just never--no

need to voting...Does it take my dependence?' I'll tell you, it discouraged me very much. We don t have any unities. I've tried again to get her to go down, and she positively will not accept that offer.

"I went on down the street--I must also go with my hand out--besides try to see if they're really qualified--and they apologized, admitted they were negligent, said they were busy with other things, hadn't thought about it.

"I worked in the campaign, gave them cards to report they had been down. Only 1 has shown me the card. 4 others didnot get down at all--will not be down--to vote Thursday. Now I have asked if I can take them down so they'll at least be able to vote for the November election. All this follow-up is necessary, it's a lot of work. It's been a real discovery for me. I've even met teachers from the college who have moved and haven't changed their registration, didn't know they had to, once they changed their address. It takes all this work--and still they won't all go... ."

The second interviewee is a male community leader, who gave these as among the causes:

(b) "People are not self-motivated to exercise the vote. Reason why? They ask, 'What's in it for me?' People need to be surrounded by the atmosphere to make them think voting is important--not just encouraged to take every chance to exercise the ballot as a citizen's right, but a responsibility.

"They need a climate--not of a matter that they must be driven to the polls to vote--but that it's a matter of walking through the rain to vote!

"What causes this.../problem/? Unless he /the Negro/ has something close to him, immediately tied up with him, he doesn't have to, doesn't care to, go out of his way to exercise the ballot. Example: Not until 4 years ago in Nashville was there a Negro in the City Council--as soon as the one chance of a councilman came up--that man was in the person of Dr. Z. Alexander Looby--and the interest came on the part of Negroes, 'something I could identify myself with...!' He went out--despite the politicians who attempted to throw a ringer around him--the Negroes were not diverted.

"So what caused it? Newspapers? Political devices? Group vitality? Building organizationally? Or personal feeling? I say it's 'What will my vote count for?' We've got to get people to see that strength of the vote regardless, and use it to command respect...!"

To these, we shall now add other considerations as to the conditioning factors affecting the status of the Negro vote--beginning with the general problems of economic dependency in urban and rural areas.

COPY : TO BE RETURNED TO MFOWLER.

INTRODUCTION

Circumstances of the Inquiry

The following report is conceived to be an informal and impressionistic analysis, based upon a study of approximately one month's travel and observation--three weeks of which was spent directly in the field, in the state of Tennessee.

The impressions stem from interviews with approximately 80 persons contacted in the three main areas of the state--Middle, Western, Eastern--and, within these areas, key cities of the main counties: Nashville (Middle) in Davidson County; Memphis (Western) in Shelby County; Knoxville (Eastern) in Knox County; and Chattanooga (Eastern) in Hamilton County. Because of their unique circumstances, Oak Ridge--in Eastern Tennessee--and Brownsville--in Western Tennessee--were also visited. Beyond the personal interviews, random conversations were initiated with anonymous individuals--including those inevitably fertile sources of local information, beauty shop operators and taxi-drivers--and some calls were made by telephone to persons who could not be otherwise visited. In Memphis, the observations were supplemented by attendance at three group meetings--of the Old Guard-Hamilton (Republican) Club and the (Democratic) Key Clubs, for election post-mortem or celebration sessions; and of the newly interracial League of Women Voters, at a local White member's home. In Nashville, one group meeting for the specific purpose of adding insights to this study was held at his home, through the generous interest of a well-known reporter on a local White newspaper. Similarly, a personal meeting was arranged at the home of a prominent White trade union leader in the state. Otherwise, in Nashville, the record was supplemented by a tour of various polling places, to observe Negro voters and election officials in action--along with Whites.

Methods of Study

From this it can be seen that the methods of the study centered in the personal interview and direct observation--with and of both Negroes and Whites. Beyond these primary sources, however, attention was given to all available secondary sources--those that were available in the time at hand, but also that were subsequently sent for review upon request, once the field-study had come to an end. These sources include records of organizational activity--including FBI reports on some aspects of Intimidation and Discrimination in Western Tennessee--and other more routine materials; all current or relevant issues of local newspapers; magazine articles and books--of which an extended Bibliography has been compiled, for further reference on the problem, should this be necessary; theses; and radio program recordings.

In the main, the study is structured as the work of one individual, the chief consultant, but this work is but the synthesis of numerous areas of assistance opened by various persons who served as Resource or other consultants in each city, and whose invaluable services are indicated in the Acknowledgments, appended. The study in each area, in fact, was initiated with the basic interview with such a person who had been previously selected as "Resource Consultant" because of responsible knowledge of and experience in the area, and it was from this interview that leads to further study were followed.

Analytic Emphases

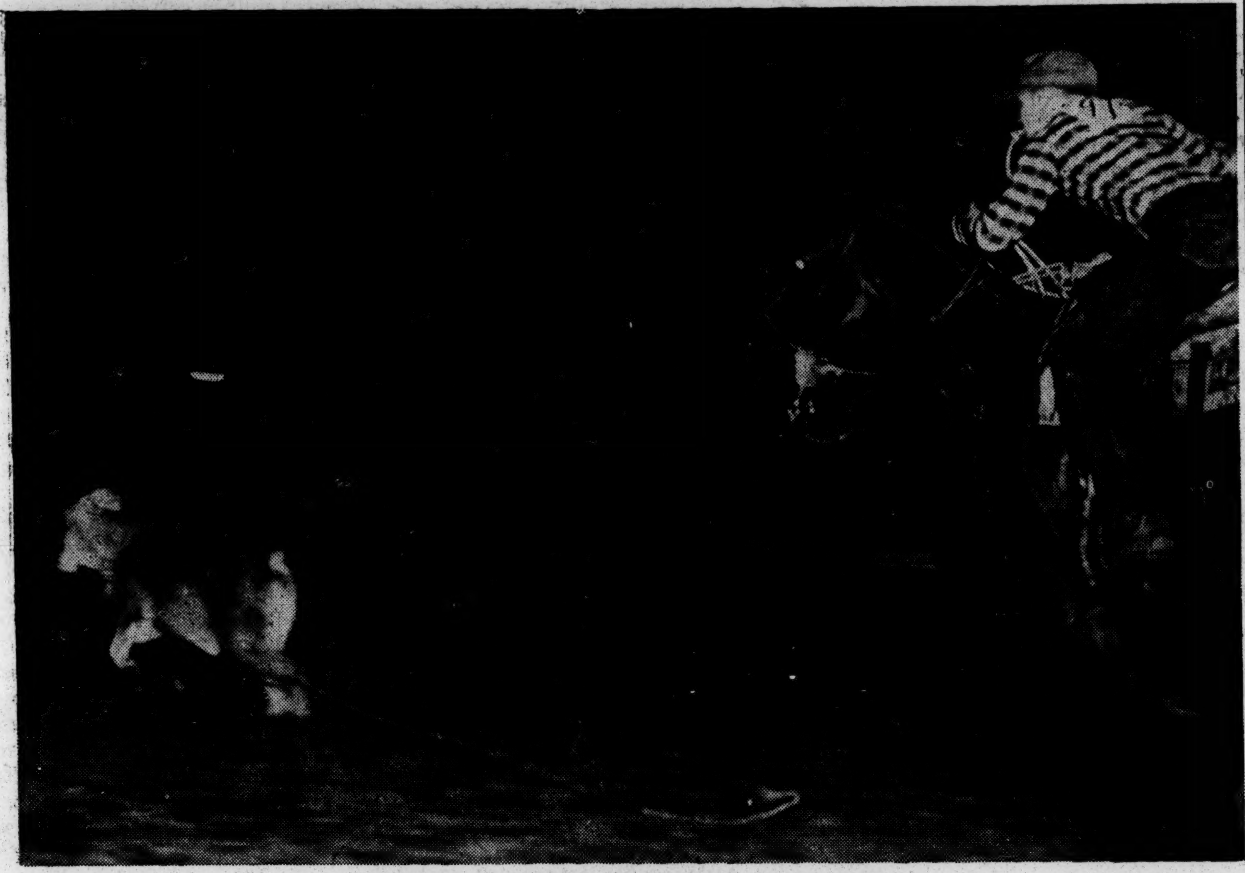
Emphases in the analysis stem from a review of the two preceding Southern Regional Council studies of this problem for the South (Jackson..., etc.), for comparative guides, and from awareness of the requirements of the study as listed in instructive materials. Because, as it will be clear, statistical data were impossible to obtain with any uniform clarity and precision in the areas, the emphasis has necessarily been placed upon qualitative observations and impressions. Beyond this accommodation to the reality-situation, however, that this study has been undertaken by a social scientist who is professionally an anthropologist, has made interest in qualities rather than quantities of human relationships and responses of prior importance. The areas to be treated, therefore, include attention to the rise and fall of the state vote, and to voting figures; but further to problems of local cultural character, to economic dependency and related factors in urban and rural settings, and to the complexities of patterning in awareness of, or responses to, measures of Intimidation.

Because of the study's limits in time and resources, it is obvious that, towards these ends there will be many inadequacies and gaps. What is offered is the beginning of inquiry and trial, which for more depthful and verifiable discoveries, must be continually, hereafter, made.

WANT ADS
WILL WORK
FOR YOU!

THE TEXAS

VOL 64 NO. 31 RICHMOND, TEXAS, THURS



YOUTH RODEO STARTS TONIGHT

The fourth annual Fort Bend County Youth Rodeo gets underway here in Fairgrounds Rodeo Arena Thursday night at 8 p.m. and will continue through Saturday night. Fans will see action like the above all during the big show which will feature over 200 youngsters, many from Fort Bend County. (Staff Photo)

4th Youth Rodeo Opens Here Tonite

As Rosenberg and Fort Bend County takes on a rodeo spirit this week, Youth Rodeo officials were being concerned with the weather as rain broke loose Tuesday noon after many weeks of dryness.

The Fort Bend County Youth Rodeo is scheduled to get underway at the Fairgrounds Arena Thursday night and is to continue through Friday and Saturday nights. Officials were hopeful that the rains would hold back for those three days.

Final details of the rodeo were worked out at a Monday night meeting, said Steve Capak, president of the Fort Bend County Youth Rodeo Association.

Cowboys and cowgirls from all over the state and from out-of-state began converging here Tuesday night and Wednesday morning for the fourth annual event and the one that is predicted to be the biggest and best ever.

The first performance will be at 8 p.m., Thursday and the smifinals will be Friday night with the finals in all events being Saturday night.

More than 600 entries have been made by 260 boys and girls, 60 of which are from Fort Bend County. 45 girls are entered in the

Civil Defense Makes Report On Alert

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L. Buls; 21, C. W.
Jesse Agnew.

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AS COASTER 10c

, THURSDAY, AUGUST 2, 1956 SIXTEEN PAGES

AYBIRD TRADITION ROKEN IN COUNTY

d tradition in Fort Bend was broken for the first Saturday's election when rs of Precinct 1 returned Bill) Adkins to the office able. Adkins received 1382 789 for Lewis Goss.

Day nearly doubled the B. B. Kirkpatrick in the representative of the 30th of Texas. Final vote was Day and 1707 for Kirk-

onstable, Pct. 2, M. C. far outdistanced all of his s and for County Com- r, Pct. 3, Johnny Davis equally overwhelming fa-

e state level, Fort Bend ell followed the state pat- th the notable exception ernor, where W. Lee finished a close second. voters polled 1886 for niel and 1825 for O'Daniel. favorites in Fort Bend were Ben Ramsey for nt Governor, Will Wilson rney General, James R. Associate Justice of Su- Court; W. A. Morrison, Criminal Appeals; Jesse State Treasurer; John C. ommissioner of Agricul- Martin Dies, Congress- rge.

Birdwell of Richmond was county chairman.

ct chairmen elected were: Richard Joseph; 2, Willie 3, H. W. Burford; 4, W. 5, Mason Briscoe; 6, E. gins; 7, B. B. Knauth; 8, oper; 9, S. A. Beard; 10, neitz.

R. B. Sheppard; 12A, Guy tt; 12B, R. W. Lindsey; Adams; 14, E. E. Denny; H. Hopmann; 16, J. A. 17, P. R. Sulak; 18, Frank 9, D. R. Daniels; 20, R. 21, C. W. Meyer; 22, Mrs. gnew.

were heavily "for" on of the segregation pro-

is the official tabulation

State Treasurer: Harding, 1526; James, 3001.

Commissioner of Agriculture: Barber, 977; Jones, 820; White, 2631.

Commissioner of General Land Office: Rudder, 2398; Price, 2089.

Congressman-at-large: Dies, 3300; Elkins, 1398.

Congressman Ninth District: Thompson, 3483; Korenek, 1192.

Representative, 30th District: Kirkpatrick, 1707; Day, 3053.

County Commissioner, Pct. 3: Davis, 967; Gray, 140; Thompson, 202.

Constable, Pct. 2: Gragert, 203; Gregory, 513; Charanza, 30; Tielke, 29; Walger, 2.

On the referendum the vote was as follows:

Proposition 1: 3494 for, 900 against. School Segregation

Proposition 2: 3530 for, 870 against. Interposition

Proposition 3: 3416 for, 799 against. Intermarriage prohibition

COTTON PICKERS ARE HERE

This picture was taken in a Fort Bend County cotton field and shows a crew of Latin-American pickers checking in their sacks for weighing late one afternoon. Machines and hand-pickers are hard at work now getting in what will no doubt be the smallest crop in several years. (Staff Photo)

Trio Killed In Two Saturday Mishaps

A Saturday night traffic accident on FM Road 360 between Richmond and Crabb claimed the lives of two Fort Bend County residents.

The fatalities were Mrs. Rudolph J. Gubbels, 33, of Thompsons, who died about one hour after the wreck at Polly Ryon Hospital and six-year-old Victoria Mata, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Celio Mata of Richmond. The little girl was killed

B. Bryson, Houston, Mrs. H. L. Ozan, Buna, Mrs. T. E. Granger, Orangefield and Mrs. Patricia Flanagan, Houston.

Pallbearers were relatives of Mrs. Gubbels. Garmany-Janca Funeral Home of Richmond was in charge.

SEVENTH FATALITY

An elderly man on crutches became Fort Bend County's seventh traffic fatality of the year when he stepped in front of a car on Highway 90 in the Fort Bend section of Katy Friday night.

The man was identified as John A. Craft, 88. The car was driven by Thomas David Sherman, an airman stationed near San Antonio.

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The first performance will be at 8 p.m., Thursday and the smifinals will be Friday night with the finals in all events being Saturday night.

More than 600 entries have been made by 260 boys and girls, 60 of which are from Fort Bend County. 45 girls are entered in the queen contest, of which Miss Fay Gray of Houston was the winner last year.

Pete McKenzie, veteran rodeo performer and announcer from Stafford, has been the publicity chairman again this year and will handle the announcing job for the rodeo.

Ribbon roping is the most popular event with contestants as 137 entries have been made. Calf tiedown has 132 entries, bareback bronc riding, 60; breakway, 53; steer dogging, 47 and the Fort Bend breakway, 23.

The stock will be furnished by the T-Diamond ranch of Frank Harris at West Columbia.

Beautiful hand-tooled saddles, trophies, hats, spurs, belts, boots, ropes, rope cans, shirts and other western attire will be given to the other winners.

Civil Defense Makes Report On Alert

Coordinator Guy N. Wynn of the Fort Bend County Civil Defense organization reports the following participation in the Operation Alert 1956:

At 2:00 p.m. Friday, July 20, all sirens and whistles of the county sounded the alert for a scheduled duration of three hours.

All six fire department units of the county were alerted and made test runs.

The auxiliarly police, in charge of R. L. Gaston, was alerted and directed west bound traffic by a registration booth, manned by Mrs. Myrtle Davis and ten volunteer helpers, who registered 1047 cars with 2150 occupants during the three hour period. A total of 1054 cars and 205 trucks were counted during the period.

A canteen manned by Mrs. Zoe Decker, of Red Cross, and Tommie Morehead, of Civil Defense, and their corps of workers served refreshments to those being registered.

Jim Hairgrove, in charge of communication, kept the people informed by radio and was in a stand by position to transmit any messages that might have been needed.

The transportation unit, under the direction of J. E. DeVilbiss and J. F. Callendar, was alerted and was ready for any emergency; as was the health unit under the direction of Dr. Will Scott and Mrs. Norma Bruce.

The National Guard sent detachments to Orchard, Sugar Land, and Missouri City as a defense measure for the industrial plants at those places.

The press of the county very kindly gave advance publicity through its colmuns.

"We wish to thank all who so willingly assisted and cooperated in making this alert so successful. We feel that we observed some of the problems that would be encountered in case of a real disaster and will be in a better position to cope with the situation if such should occur," said Mr. Wynn.

Attorney General Presents Resolutions On Interposition

AUSTIN. — Attorney General John Ben Shepperd today released the contents of three Interposition Resolutions with the request that they be acted on favorably at the Democratic County Conventions Saturday, August 4. A fourth resolution dealt with segregation and intermarriage.

Included in the three Interposition Resolutions are (1) Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States and appealing to other States to join in a request to Congress to call a Convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to restore the power of the States to conserve and regulate the exploration, production and distribution of their petroleum products, water, sulphur and all other minerals and natural resources.

(2) A recommendation that the next session of the Texas Legislature pass a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States returning to the respective States the power to make and enforce laws to prohibit and punish acts of sedition and subversion.

Shepperd pointed out that the Supreme Court had taken away powers of various States to conserve and control their Natural Resources and to prohibit and punish sedition and subversion. The country today, said Shepperd, is without effective control over Communism or any other form of subversive activity.

Shepperd further proposed that county conventions call on the next session of the Texas Legislature to join other states in proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States limiting the maximum rate of federal taxes on income, estate and gifts to 25% except in time of war. (Texas would be the 31st State to propose such a change. Thirty-two

(Continued on Page 4)

Draft Board Needs Registrants Address

The local draft board is seeking the addresses of three registrants of the Fort Bend County Draft Board and is seeking cooperation of anyone who may know them. The three men are Jimmy Esparza Guerra, Ramon Cabio Hernandez and Billy Don Davis.

Latest addresses of the trio were listed as: Guerra, Box 694, Post, Texas; Hernandez, Buckeye, Arizona; and Davis, Buckeye, Arizona.

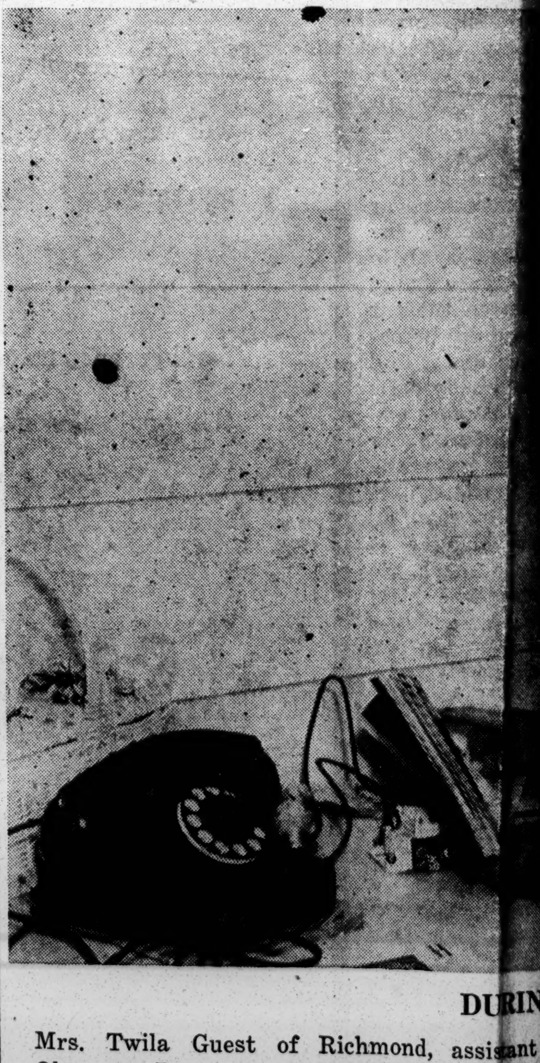
Miss Joyce Finney, clerk of the local board, is asking that anyone knowing the registrants to tell them to contact the Rosenberg office, located in Room 208, Turicchi Building, Rosenberg.

IN MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

Friends of Mrs. Emma Flanagan will regret to learn that she is in the Memorial Hospital in Houston for treatment. She was admitted to the Hospital Monday morning.

Future Homemakers To Meet August 7

On Tuesday, August 7 from 2 until 4 the Future Homemakers will meet in the home making department of the Lamar high school. All who are interested are urged to attend.



DURIN

Mrs. Twila Guest of Richmond, assistant
Observer Post, discusses aircraft identifica
the alert held here Saturday.

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Voters were heavily "for" on all three of the segregation propositions.

Here is the official tabulation of how [illegible] county voted.

For governor: Daniel, 1886; Haley, 150; Holmes, 20; O'Daniel, 1825; Senterfitt, 157; Yarborough, 1118.

Lieutenant Governor: Aikin, 1077; Johnson, 610; Ramsey, 2606; Smith, 471.

Attorney General: Carlton, 871; Hill, 216; Moore, 1474; Wilson, 2210.

Judge, Criminal Appeals: Morrison, 2831; Owens, 1518.

Associate Justice (Place 3): Norvell, 2428; Hughes, 1822.

County Convention Here On Saturday

Precinct delegates were named at conventions held during last Saturday's first Democratic primary and the county convention will be held in the District Courtroom at the courthouse this Saturday afternoon, August 4.

The meeting will be called to order at 2:30 p.m., according to County Chairman Glen D. Birdwell.

While only duly elected delegates will be allowed to vote at the county convention, the public is invited to attend the convention according to Birdwell.

Saturday Mishaps

A Saturday night traffic accident on FM Road 360 between Richmond and Crabb claimed the lives of two Fort Bend County residents.

The fatalities were Mrs. Rudolph J. Gubbels, 33, of Thompsons, who died about one hour after the wreck at Polly Ryon Hospital and six-year-old Victoria Mata, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Celio Mata of Richmond. The little girl was killed instantly.

The deaths were the eighth and ninth traffic fatalities in Fort Bend County this year.

Deputy Sheriff K. A. Crawford said a blowout on the 1956 Mercury driven by Mrs. Gubbels apparently caused her to lose control just as she was meeting a pickup driven by Mata.

Maria Mata, another passenger in the pickup, was taken to Polly Ryon for cuts and bruises and Mata was treated and released.

The accident occurred about 9:20 p.m.

Funeral services for Mrs. Mickey F. Gubbels, 33, of Thompsons, were held Monday afternoon at the graveside in the Trout Creek Cemetery near Kirbyville with Rev. Mires of the Bridge City Baptist Church officiating. Mrs. Gubbels died Saturday night following a car wreck on the Thompsons highway.

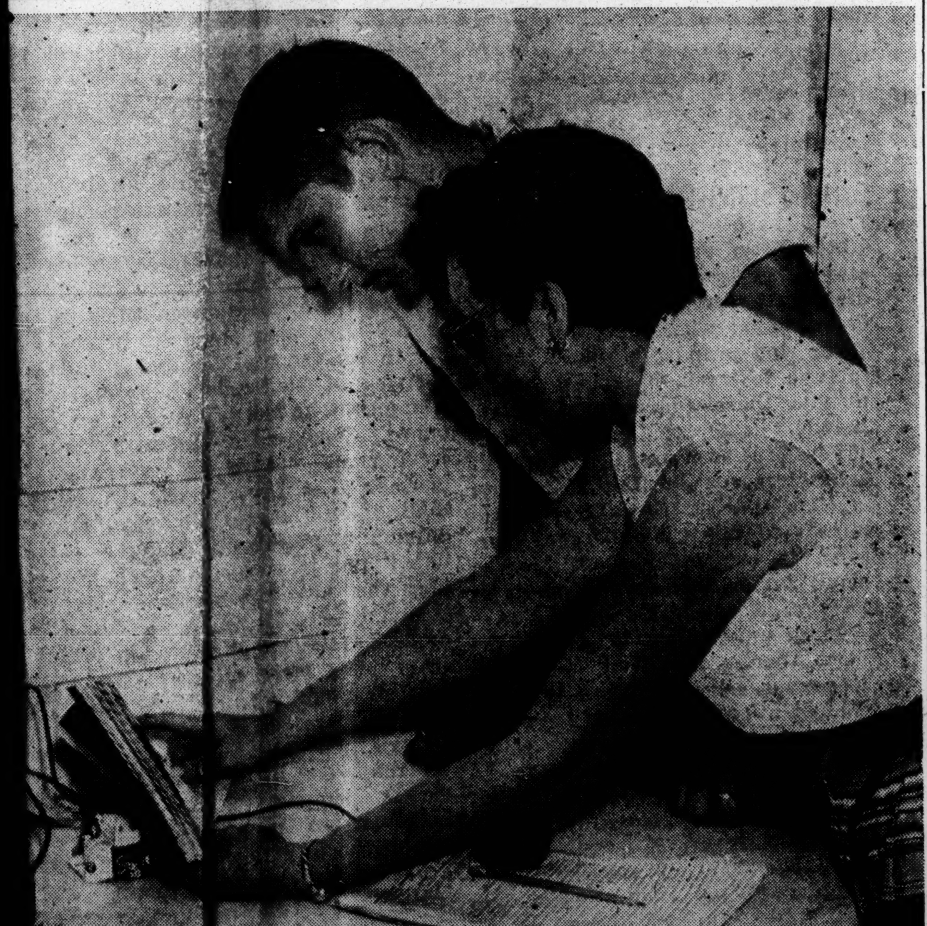
Mrs. Gubbels, who was born in Old Salem in Newton County, is survived by her husband, Rudolph J. Gubbels of Thompsons; one daughter, Virginia Ann Patillo, Orange; her parents, Mr. and Mrs. D. R. Taylor, Edna; grandmother, Mrs. C. D. Holmes, Old Salem; one brother, C. D. Taylor, Lake Charles, La.; four sisters, Mrs. L. B. Bryson, Houston, Mrs. H. L. Ozan, Buna, Mrs. T. E. Granger, Orangefield and Mrs. Patricia Flanagan, Houston.

Pallbearers were relatives of Mrs. Gubbels. Garmany-Janca Funeral Home of Richmond was in charge.

SEVENTH FATALITY

An elderly man on crutches became Fort Bend County's seventh traffic fatality of the year when he stepped in front of a car on Highway 90 in the Fort Bend section of Katy Friday night.

The man was identified as John A. Craft, 88. The car was driven by Thomas David Sherman, an airman stationed near San Antonio.



DURING THE ALERT

ichmond, assistant Chief observer of the Rosenberg-Richmond Ground aircraft identification with Calvin Lubojacky, also of Richmond, during urday. (Staff Photo)

Runoffs In Three State-Wide Races

U. S. Sen. Price Daniel will go into the August runoff for the Texas gubernatorial nomination with a lead of more than 162,000 votes over Ralph Yarborough, Texas Election Bureau tabulations showed Tuesday.

The two will fight for nearly 500,000 votes which went to the other candidates in Saturday's primary election.

The 6 p.m., tabulation showed Daniel with 622,321 ballots, or 39.70 per cent of the total, and Yarborough with 460,134, or 29.35 per cent of the 1,567,411 total counted thus far.

The election bureau estimated that about 4,000 votes are yet to be counted, mostly from Bell, Duval, Starr, Brazoria and Matagorda Counties.

The bureau will compile its next and final tabulation for release Sunday morning.

W. Lee O'Daniel, former senator and governor, had 345,842 votes, or 22.06 per cent.

The totals for other candidates in the governor's race: J. Evetts Haley, rancher and historian, 90,577; Reuben Senterfitt, former House speaker, 37,950; and J. J. Holmes, Austin Contractor, 10,647.

Runoffs will be required for two other state-wide races.

Supreme Court justice Will Wilson and Waco District Atty. Tom Moore will contend for the attorney general's office, while Ben Ramsey, the incumbent, and State Sen. A. M. Aikin Jr., will be in the runoff for lieutenant governor.

The other state-wide races were

(Continued on Page 4)

Funeral Services For Sally Ann Andrews

Funeral services for little Sally Ann Andrews, 18-month-old Rosenberg girl were held Saturday afternoon at 4 p.m., in the First Methodist Church with Rev. Weldon B. Morton officiating.

Sally Ann, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ventress E. Andrews Jr., of 1113 Frost St., died at 7:40 p.m., Friday after an illness of only a few hours.

Besides her parents, she is survived by two brothers, Joe and Bill of the home; her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. V. E. Andrews Sr., of East Bernard and Mr. and Mrs. George Moses of Foster and a number of aunts and uncles.

Pallbearers were Ray Nordt, Dennis Keprta, Virgil Shaddox and H. L. Jenkins.

Burial was in Greenlawn Memorial Park under the direction of Garmany-Janca Funeral Home.

Day Led Kirkpatrick In Waller County

Unofficial returns from Waller County, reported here Monday afternoon, gave J. C. "Jimmy" Day Jr., of Brookshire a total of 1,629 votes to 1,000 for B. B. Kirkpatrick of Hempstead, in the race for State Representative from Waller and Fort Bend Counties. Both men are Waller county residents. Day carried Fort Bend County by a vote of about 2 to 1 and will succeed Jess Ward of Rosenberg as representative from the two-county district.

It was reported that all but 172 votes were included in the Waller County report. These 172 votes were in a West Hempstead box that was being contested by a candidate for county commissioner, it was said.

THE WEATHER

Area Receives .55 Inches Of Rain

According to the Official Weather Bureau for Fort Bend County the area received a total of .55 inches of rain this week.

It rained more in Richmond Tuesday afternoon and was gauged at 1.5 inches. A heavy rain also fell on Wednesday morning.

The high of the week was reported Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday with a reading of 97 degrees. The low of the week was reported on Sunday with 66 degrees.

The weather this week was a little cooler than last week. The high of the week reported for last week was 99 degrees.

The following degrees was registered last week.

Date	High	Low	Rain
Wed., July 25	97	67	.00
Thurs., July 26	96	68	.20
Fri., July 27	96	70	.00
Sat., July 28	97	68	.00
Sun., July 80	97	66	.00
Mon., July 30	97	70	.00
Tues., July 31	94	68	.35

State Tennis Meet Here Big Success

The tennis season came to a grand climax here in Rosenberg last Saturday as some 150 young racket wielders ended the third day of fast hard competition in what proved to be the best State Junior Development tennis tournament in the history of the organization.

Bob Gardner, who has attended every state meet since the organization of the Junior Development Committee, stated that he believes the Jaycees put on the best tournament in the history of the event. Incidentally, the Rosenberg Jaycees were the recipients of many complimentary remarks from the many visitors to the meet not only for this tournament but also for the leading role they have played in promoting tennis in the past.

Odessa and Beaumont dominated the upper divisions by winning in both the 18-year-old singles and doubles, but their superiority was challenged all the way from the first match to the last. Odessa's Flo Marvin was the star of the girls' division, winning first the singles championship by defeating in order, Phyllis Gehring of Victoria 6-0 6-2, Jo Cronnenberger of LaGrange 8-6 6-2, Carole Keeton of Austin 6-1 6-2 and finally her doubles partner, Marilyn Goodwin 6-4 6-8 6-4.

Flo then teamed with Marilyn to win the doubles by rather easy scores, winning over Gehring and Roloff of Victoria 6-2 6-0, Muth and Nash of College Station 6-1 6-0, and finally defeating their teammates from Odessa, Smith and Belcher, 7-5 6-3.

Wayne Parker of Beaumont also took on the role of double winner in copping both the singles and doubles titles. He won over Charles Burley of Bryan 6-2 6-0, Jerry Dolnik of Rosenberg 6-1 6-1, Mike Garza of Harlingen 6-1 6-2 and finally over Harvey Barber 6-2 6-1. Parker and Raymond Flummerfelt of Beaumont took Dahlberg and Olian of College Station 6-0 6-1, Barber and Rentz of Alvin 6-3 6-2 and finally Yoder and Garza of Harlingen 6-3 6-1. Schwartz and Berkman had previously been eliminated by Yoder and Garza 6-2 6-8 6-4.

In the 15-year-old division, Sue Briner of Alvin was upset by Sharon Lester of Weimar 2-6 7-5 6-2 to grab the girl singles championship. The Rosenberg team of Shirley Strain and Carolyn Hartfiel were defeated in the finals of the doubles by Betty Ellison and Lyla Glaser of Big Springs, 1-6 6-2 6-3.

Don Avera of College Station upset all opposition by going all the way and winning his final match over Floyd Richardson of Alvin 6-4 6-4. Billy Roland and Floyd Richardson of Alvin held true to form, meeting and defeating their teammates, Bobby Vaughn and Gene Davenport, in the 15-year-old boy doubles, 6-3 6-2.

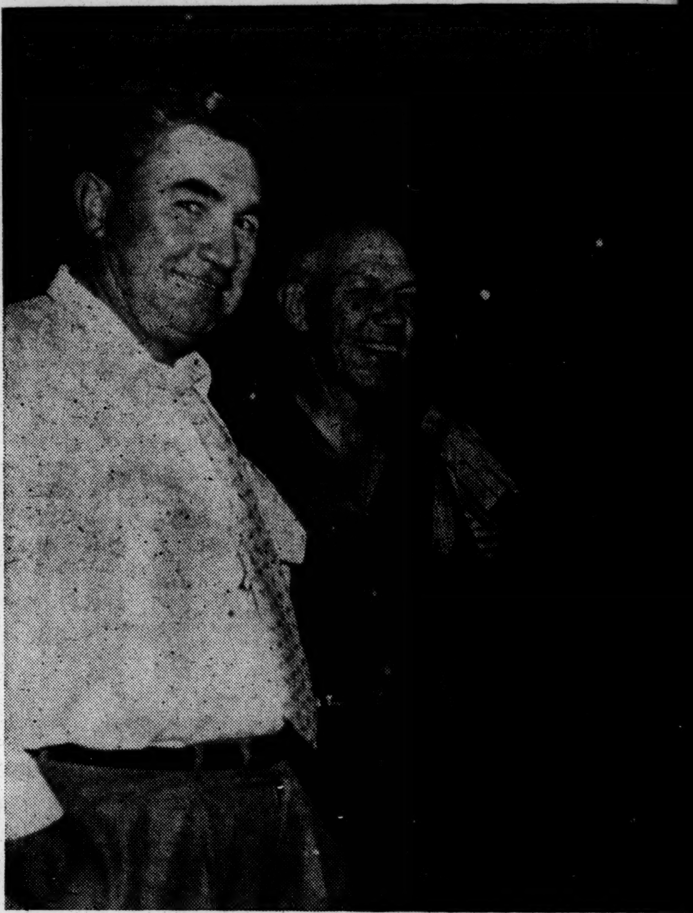
While this tournament finished the Rosenberg season with a grand splash, many of the local youngsters will take part in tournaments such as the Southern United States Junior Olympics in Houston, the Sabine Labor Day in Beaumont, the Freeport C. of C., the Austin Invitational, Shreveport Open and others.

Amateur Radio Club To Meet

The second meeting of a new Fort Bend County amateur radio club is scheduled for Monday night, August 6, according to an announcement by Otto Lee Reue, temporary chairman of the group. Interested radio amateurs had their first meeting at the Reue home, July 19. At that time, Reue was elected temporary chairman; Herb Schumann of Sugar Land was elected temporary secretary. The purpose of the meeting Monday night is the election of officers, selecting a name for the club, and voting on the constitution and bylaws.

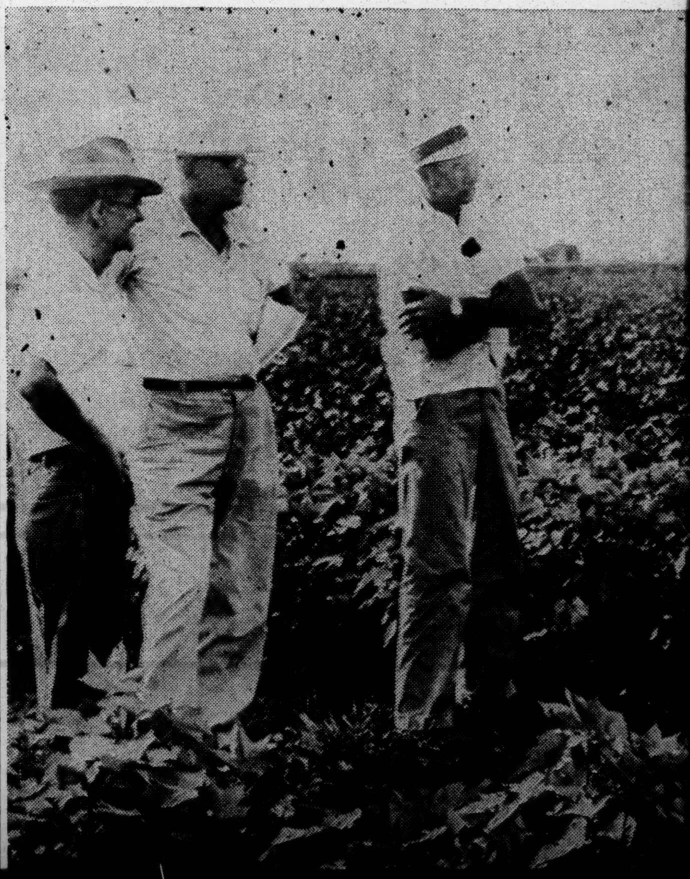
Fred Holmans, 69 Dies In Rosenberg

Funeral services for Fred A. Holmans, 69, of Rosenberg were held Sunday at 2:00 p.m., from the First Baptist Church, Rosenberg. Mr. Holmans passed away Friday in Polly Ryon Hospital. He was born in London, England,



COTTON PICKER D

Shown just before the barbecue and cotton picker de
senberg last Thursday night, left to right, G. W. McIlw
vester Co.; Walter Shult; John Gaubatz, Juliff farmer
tor representative from Houston.



TON PICKER DEMONSTRATION

d cotton picker demonstration at Shult Equipment Co. in Ro- right, G. W. McIlwain of Houston, with the International Har- batz, Juliff farmer and A. A. Fruhling, International Harves- (Staff Photo)

Rosenberg -Richmond GOC Post Participates In 10-Hour Alert

By MINA STOVALL
Post Supervisor

The Rosenberg-Richmond Ground Observer Corps Post participated in the ten-hour alert Saturday from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m.

With interest in the alert almost nil, it is timely to mention a statement of Admiral Arthur Bedford, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, which appeared in the July 1956 issue of "The Aircraft Flash".

"Safeguarding freedom is the responsibility of every individual. It is a personal trust. It depends on the sensitive, conscientious actions of the individual. Man, or at least enough men, must be sensitive to their rights, their obligations and their responsibilities to freedom to make it work".

Only eight volunteered their services Saturday to carry on the 10-hour "skywatching" . . . Loyal Twila Guest, assistant chief observer, deserves much credit for her patriotic spirit shown by remaining at the post the full ten hours of the alert. . . My roommate, Helen Adams, and I went out after I finished my morning duties at the Reporter and remained at the post until "Off Watch" at 8 p.m. . . Calvin Lubojocky was on duty with Twila Guest from 10 a.m., until 1 p.m. Mrs. Donald Bryant and Allan Amman participated from 1 p.m. until 3 p.m. Assistant Coordinator of Civil Defense in Fort Bend County, Guy N. Wynn came out to lend a helping hand from 1:30 until 2:30. The only team captain taking part in the alert was dependable Jerry Macek who came out at six (Don't believe Jerry has missed but one meeting since the post's inception). That's it, folks, eight out of a roster of 411 but what was lacking in number was made up for in enthusiasm—42 planes were spotted and called into the Houston Filter Center during the alert.

As post supervisor, I wish to take this opportunity to urge all team captains to take their responsibility seriously and, when we are called upon to participate in these important alerts, don't say "Let George do it"—but try to see that YOUR team is in there working full capacity instead of leaving the brunt of the job to a loyal few.

A big thank-you to "Skeeter" Gaston, Lawana and Tommy Na-

stay at the post Saturday. It was indeed thoughtful.

And while on the thanking side of the picture—We appreciate the interest shown by Radio Station K.F.R.D. in its many broadcasts prior to the alert and for the 5 p.m. broadcast from our post at the fairgrounds of the "skywatchers" in action. We also wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Rosenberg and Richmond papers and for the generous space accorded us in publicizing all activities of our post and for coming out for "shots" during the alert.

Texas is a key state in the nation—militarily as well as economically and nearby Houston is near the top on the target list. Its highly productive industrial complexes and large population would unquestionably be prime targets in any nuclear attack upon this country. In this area, the Continental Air Defense Command leans heavily upon the Ground Observer Corps as a supplement to and back-up for its radar net—not only to protect Houston and Texas itself, but to provide early warning to inland areas. Our post needs YOUR help to reach our goal of 744 volunteer observers. If you have not yet joined forces with us, please realize the urgency of our being prepared to properly man our post when we are notified to go on round-the-clock duty. Sgt. Giller stated in his talk at the Fairgrounds Auditorium last Friday that San Antonio and Corpus Christi are already on 24 hour participation and it is naturally assumed that the posts that the Houston Filter Center serve will soon be called upon for like participation.

Interposition - - -

(Continued from page 1.)

are required to force an amendment to be submitted for a vote by the States).

The fourth resolution calls upon the State Democratic Convention or State Democratic Executive Committee to recommend specific legislation needed to prohibit forced integration in the public schools of Texas where the parents of children of either race object, and for specific legislation to perfect State laws against intermarriage between white persons and negroes. Shepperd states that the decision vote in Saturday's election on the Referendum covering these questions made the Convention and Legislature obligated to propose such legislation.

"Let us have peace" are the words inscribed on the tomb of

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One of the purposes of organizing the new club, stated Reue, is to assist persons who desire to learn the art of amateur radio. A major function of the club will be to cooperate with local Civil Defense authorities by providing emergency communications during times of disaster. Many readers may recall the ice storm of January, 1950. Telephone and telegraph lines were torn down, paralyzing communications out of Fort Bend County. Radio amateurs, operating on an individual basis, provided the only emergency communication available. The new club will join local radio amateurs in a centrally coordinated network which will provide vital contacts with outside world during such times of disaster.

The meeting is scheduled for 7:30 Monday night, at the studios of Radio Station KFRD in Rosenberg. Anybody who is interested in amateur radio is invited to attend the meeting.

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Funeral services for Fred A. Holmans, 69, of Rosenberg were held Sunday at 2:00 p.m., from the First Baptist Church, Rosenberg. Mr. Holmans passed away Friday in Polly Ryon Hospital. He was born in London, England, and has lived in Rosenberg for the past 45 years.

Mr. Holmans was survived by his wife, Mrs. Annie Holmans and his brother, Ed S. Holmans, Longview, Texas.

Burial was in W.O.W. Cemetery under the direction of the Garmany-Janca Funeral Home of Rosenberg with Rev. W. T. Berryhill officiating.

Under the Joint resolution of Congress. March 1, 1845, Texas may subdivide it into four states.

North America is the third largest continent, with Asia and Africa ranking first and second.

The first South American railway was constructed in Chile in 1852.

When the German zeppelin Hindenburg burned at Lakehurst, N. J., May 6, 1937, 36 people were killed.

THESE ROSENBERG GIRLS . . . are among the 45 contestants for queen of the Fort Bend County Youth Rodeo. Left to right are Patsy Jackson, Barbara Kubala and Sandy Williams.

COTTON FIELD

Shown discussing the different varieties of Cotton g
Farm near Sugar Land are Oscar Daniels, Angleton;
Mowery, Almeda; Bob Worthington, Fort Bend county
of the Texas Coaster. The varieties were studied as a p

Runoffs - - -

(Continued from page 1.)

decided in Saturday's primary. Winners in these were:

Agriculture Commissioner John C. White, Land Commissioner Earl Rudder, Congressman - at - large Martin Dies, Court of Criminal Appeals Justice W. A. Morrison, and State Treasurer Jesse James.

Civil Appeals Justice James R. Norvell of San Antonio was the winner for State Supreme Court, Place 3, over Civil Appeals Justice Robert G. Hughes of Austin.

This race was the closest one with Norvell getting 613,619 votes, or 50.512 per cent, and Hughes with 605,512, or 49.67 per cent.

Daniel led in 147 counties, O'Daniel in 69, Yarborough in 35, Senterfitt in 2, San Saba and Glasscock, and Haley in one, Loving.

The unofficial vote count in other races:

Lieutenant governor: Aikin, 382,724; C. T. Johnson, Austin insurance man, 151,035; Ramsey, 654,780; John Lee Smith, former lieutenant governor, 220,849.

Attorney general: Ross Carlton, Dallas, segregation leader, 129,867; Curtis E. Hill of Upshur County who withdrew after his name was on most ballots, 79,473; Moore, 481,766; Wilson, 664,406.

Agriculture Commissioner: Jim Barber, Dallas, former state agriculture department employee, 238,027; Bill Jones, Kermit nursery operator, 279,248; White, 754,687.

Congressman - at - large: Dies, 847,673; Bill Elkins, Dallas real estate operator, 445,458.

Land commissioner: Ned Price, Tyler, Smith County judge, 609,544; Rudder, 643,099.

Criminal appeals court: Morrison 655,908; Jesse Owens, Vernon district judge, 527,542.

State treasurer: Warren G. Harding, Dallas, county treasurer, 526,713; James, 799,145.

Returns from the state's right and segregation referendum:

School segregation: For 808,539; against 232,732.

Stronger laws to prevent marriage of whites and Negroes: For 824,399; against 208,284.

Interposition, the doctrine favoring state action against what it considers federal encroachment on its rights: For 797,897; against 184,450.

'Share The Ro And Arrive Al —Is New Slog

"Share the Road—Ar
In those words E. C.
of Dallas, Vice Presid
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President of the Texas
sociation, today urged a
to support the Share
program of the Texas
sociation, the Departm
lic Safety and the Nati
Council. This program
conducted in cooperatio
Slow Down and Live
the National Conferen
Safety Coordinators.

"To stay safe in
driver must be keenly
he's not the only one o
McFadden said. "He's
many drivers, so he m
step with the others an
road with them."

He said this involve
all, a willingness to
then the skill and ju
do the right thing at
time.

He gave the followi
a guide to drivers to
fit their driving to the
traffic around them.

1. Keep alert. Develo
driving. Study the road
accident situations. The
speed, the farther ahe
tention must be fixed.

2. Think ahead. Plan
measures. Know your
your car's capabilities.
ahead should suddenly
lane, could you stop?
swerve to avoid an a

3. Be adaptable. Get
of the changing traffi
weather conditions. A
speed immediately.

4. Pace yourself by
around you. This incl
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Don't race. Don't lag.
the bumper of the ca

5. Take only your s
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in the proper lane. Pas
you see you have amp
space to avoid cutting
too sharply. Signal al
lane changes.

6, Obey to the lette

COTTON FIELD DAY

varieties of Cotton grown in the test plots on the Central Prison scar Daniels, Angleton; Dan Clinton, Harris County agent; Faye gton, Fort Bend county and Donald B. Bryant, general manager ties were studied as a part of cotton field day Friday. (Staff Photo)

'Share The Road And Arrive Alive' —Is New Slogan

"Share the Road—Arrive Alive!"

In those words E. C. McFadden of Dallas, Vice President of Employers Casualty Company and President of the Texas Safety Association, today urged all motorists to support the Share the Road program of the Texas Safety Association, the Department of Public Safety and the National Safety Council. This program is being conducted in cooperation with the Slow Down and Live program of the National Conference of State Safety Coordinators.

"To stay safe in traffic, the driver must be keenly aware that he's not the only one on the road." McFadden said. "He's just one of many drivers, so he must keep in step with the others and share the road with them."

He said this involves, first of all, a willingness to share, and then the skill and judgment to do the right thing at the right time.

He gave the following rules as a guide to drivers to help them fit their driving to the pattern of traffic around them.

1. Keep alert. Develop defensive driving. Study the road ahead for accident situations. The higher the speed, the farther ahead your attention must be fixed.

2. Think ahead. Plan emergency measures. Know your own and your car's capabilities. If the car ahead should suddenly block your lane, could you stop? Could you swerve to avoid an accident?

3. Be adaptable. Get the "feel" of the changing traffic, road and weather conditions. Adjust your speed immediately.

4. Pace yourself by the traffic around you. This includes noting traffic behind through constant use of your rear-view mirrors. Don't race. Don't lag. Don't ride the bumper of the car ahead.

5. Take only your share of the road—in the proper place. Keep in the proper lane. Pass only when you see you have ample time and space to avoid cutting out and in too sharply. Signal all turns and lane changes.

6, Obey to the letter all traffic laws, signs, signals and the dictates of common sense and courtesy. If you make a mistake, don't lose your head. Don't jeopardize yourself and others by hasty, foolishly sudden moves.

McFadden had a special word to say about safety on superhighways, pointing out that the higher speeds permissible on such roads make the above rules doubly important and vital. In addition, he said, this rule should be added: Watch signs carefully for rules governing the particular road you're traveling—such things as directions for entering or leaving the highway.

Visitors to the capital in Washington may go through the building from 9 a.m. nutil 4:30 p.m.

The U. S. owns almost 50 per cent of the world's wealth.

In 1933 unemployment in the U. S. was 15 million.

The Selective Service Bill was signed September 16, 1940.

The Channel Islands were the only British possession occupied by Germany during World War II.

For Events That Are Important

From weddings to anniversaries, life's most important occasions call for impressive invitations and announcements. See us for suggestions.

THE TEXAS COASTER

the alert was dependable Jerry Macek who came out at six (Don't believe Jerry has missed but one meeting since the post's inception). That's it, folks, eight out of a roster of 411 but what was lacking in number was made up for in enthusiasm—42 planes were spotted and called into the Houston Filter Center during the alert.

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A big thank-you to "Skeeter" Gaston, Lawana and Tommy Naron, and Mr. Wynn for furnishing us with cold drinks during our

are required to force an amendment to be submitted for a vote by the States).

The fourth resolution calls upon the State Democratic Convention or State Democratic Executive Committee to recommend specific legislation needed to prohibit forced integration in the public schools of Texas where the parents of children of either race object, and for specific legislation to perfect State laws against intermarriage between white persons and negroes. Shepperd states that the decision vote in Saturday's election on the Referendum covering these questions made the Convention and Legislature obligated to propose such legislation.

"Let us have peace" are the words inscribed on the tomb of General Ulysses S. Grant in New York City.

Cole's safe-type
STEEL STORAGE CABINETS
SAVE $24.00!

Will keep your office supplies and printed matter clean and orderly. Pays for itself by preventing pilferage. Doors are equipped with a two-way locking device controlled by a paracentric lock. Five adjustable compartments. Size, 36" wide, 76" high, 18½" deep. Olive green or Cole gray finish.

formerly $83.95
No. 76 $59.95

ADDITIONAL SHELVES for above...... $3.95 ea.

←WARDROBE
With hat shelf plus rod for coat hangers.
36"w., 76"h., 18½"d. No. 76R $59.40

←WARDROBE and STORAGE CABINET
With 3 adjustable shelves, a hat shelf and coat rod.
36"w., 76"h., 18½"d.
No. 76C $71.95

THE TEXAS COASTER

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS

GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH

August 31, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Here is the report. I have tried to cover all called for in your plan of study, but there might be a few things which we did not cover exactly as the plan called for due to condition s under which the data were available. However, we hope that the few alterations that might be involved will not disturb your original plans for Texas.

You will note that, in order to save typing cost, we have included indirectly data which could have been included directly. This means that from the data which we have sent, you will be able to deduce by symbolic enumeration of incomplete statistics which we did not type out. To illustrate: We did not list out the number of Negroes in the electorate for each county. We did, however, give the per cent of electorate registered for each county, thereby letting one deduce the total electorate for each county. We did this not only for the total but by race as well. This allows you to know the number of people of voting age for total, white, non-white, found in each county. It should be stated, too, that population changes since the 1950 census have been accounted for by a method which we state in a footnote under appropriate tables.

The field notes which we gathered have neither been edited nor have they been changed. Where I editorialize in light of my knowledge of the psychological climate of this area, I place these statements in caps. I hope that this will not disturb whatever use you plan to make of such materials.

We hope that the data are to your liking. If there are other things you want us to do, please feel free to call upon us. I am sending the requisitions later, since there is great anxiety to make your dead-line.

We have enjoyed the work and have found it very enlightening. We hope that enlightment is inherent in its quality.

Thanking you kindly, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock, Professor of
Sociology and Chairman of
Graduate Research.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

(55)1956 OCT 31 PM 4 01

AA42 NSB355

NS HSA661 27 COLLECT=FAX HOUSTON TEX 31 247P MCF

:HAROLD C FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
=63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

TOTAL TEXAS ELECTORATE 5,299,999 WHITE 4,327,683 NEGRO 972,316 TOTAL TEXAS REGISTERED 2,009,897 WHITE 1,795,988 NEGRO 213,909 OUR BEST ESTIMATES=

:H A BULLOCK=

This estimate of total registration should not be used since the total of persons voting in 1952 and 1956 exceeded this estimate of registration.
B. [illegible]

=5,299,999 4,327,683 972,316 2,009,897 1,795,988 213,909=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS

GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH

November 3, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am very sorry to have caused you so much trouble in the interpretation of data which we sent you early in September. It seems that in our hurry to meet your deadline, I gave the wrong directions to my typist. I had her copy our computations of registered voters against the 1950 population column rather than the column which we had computed for 1956. I did not recognize the error until I began to get the data for which you called through your Secretary.

On recognizing the error, I called your office the following day to let you know that I had discovered the error and was planning to send this material. You will notice from the title of the tables that here are:(1) distributions of the population of voting age, the number registered(poll tax payers) and the per cent of voting age people who are registered, by counties; (2) This same distribution for the white population; (3) a similar distribution for nonwhites, practically all of whom are Negroes; and (4) The per cent of total registered voters who voted in the July Primary. The fifth table you already have.

If you need me for further interpretation or aid, please feel free to let me know.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS

November 20, 1956

GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH

Miss Margaret Price, Research Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

I am sorry for the delay in answer to your letter of November 13. It found me on a speaking engagement, and I have just returned.

Texas has no legal requirements for the voting privilege except for the poll tax receipt. There is nothing like the literacy test or other blocks to voting as found in some other states. The decision in the Lonnie Smith vote-case seems to be very acceptable to Texans, even to the Citizens Council. In fact, there has been far more effort on the part of whites to get the Negro to vote than to prevent him from voting. Only one instance to the contrary can I cite with any degree of certainty. The Jay-Bird case in Fort Bend County was an attempt to escape the Court decision with reference to voting by using a private club as an "out". This case, as you may know, was favorably decided, and Negroes of that area actually vote in greater proportions than in some other areas.

Willie Melton of the Fort Bend area, together with the Negro Farm Agent -- all indicate through conversation with them that the Turkey Creek project was achieved through considerable effort of the area's congressional representatives. They can offer no objective evidence. However, as in many cases like this, usual experience dictates that the area's Congressman naturally responded to the interests of the many Negroes whom he represents in this area.

Materials such as those sent you pertaining to little towns like Greenville, Temple, and Kilgore all reflect the importance of the local officials or candidates in elections. The Sheriff-post is very important in these towns. Law enforcement agencies have been so distasteful to Negroes that the Sheriff's race becomes very important. Candidates for this office appear before groups of Negroes, promising equal law enforcement for all -- promising equal treatment for all. Because of the Negro vote potential, evidently, many of these promises are kept. Too, candidates for Mayor, city council-post, and other city offices seek the Negro's vote through promises to give them certain services with regard to streets. These towns were not the only ones that reported noticeable improvements as a result of these promises. We conclude that the Negro's potential vote helps to encourage these movements toward equality of treatment.)

The total number of registrations we sent was based on a count secured for the counties we listed and estimated for those we missed. The estimate should be greater than the 1952 vote. One must be very careful with figures concerning the total Texas vote as recorded through secondary sources. We notice that many figures giving the total number of voters represent re-counts of the same vote. They represent a cumulative total for more than one candidate rather than for some specific office. I am not sure that your 1952 figures include this.

According to the Associated Press report, November 8, 1956, there were 1,751,249 who voted either for Mr. Eisenhower or Mr. Stevenson in the Texas general election. This represents, according to this source, the complete vote of 254 counties. We really do not know what the total Negro vote was.(We notice that for cities with precincts reported, and where we know from intra-urban population distribution which precincts are mainly Negro, this race voted at a rate similar to the average reported. This is very evident for Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio.)

Mr. Eisenhower carried a much larger Negro vote than any of us anticipated. His stand on the school integration question in Washington seems to have had most weight. The School Board election drew more attention from Negroes of Houston than did the Presidential election. There were several positions involved, including candidates who were for or against attempt to comply with the Court decision concerning schools. The liberal element, for which more than 90 per cent of the Negroes* of Houston voted, lost the election by a sizeable margin. The important element of psychology to us is the fact that the School Board question caused no greater proportion of Negro voters to turn out, but merely tended to concentrate those who did not turn out.

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*Of those voting, that is.

I hope that these remarks have been somewhat helpful. If I can be of further service, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock, Chairman
Graduate School Research.

HAB/nw

TEXAS

County	Nonwhite population Over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Anderson	5,323	1,488
Angelina	3,554	2,336
Austin	1,642	112
Bailey	141	78
Bastrop	3.385	1,103
Bell	5,273	1,264
Bexar	22,310	15,497
Bowie	8,813	3,012
Brazoria	4,470	2,765
Brazos	5,006	2,504
Burleson	2,318	835
Caldwell	1,785	481
Camp	1,946	779
Cass	4,332	947
Chambers	876	339
Cherokee	6,447	986
Collin	2,077	350
Colorado	2,567	1,139
Dallas	54,332	15,626
Dawson	550	62
Denton	1,362	231
De Witt	1,975	349
Ector	988	260
Ellis	5,841	1,711
El Paso	3,139	1,433
Falls	4,612	1,934
Fannin	1,851	638
Fayette	2,185	1,244
Fort Bend	4,437	858
Freestone	3,197	1,495
Galveston	15,520	6,490
Gonzales	2,134	896
Grayson	3,892	1,117
Gregg	8,595	2,398
Grimes	3,427	767
Guadalupe	2,101	699
Hardin	1,815	827
Harris	96,679	36,654
Harrison	12,840	3,914
Hays	718	210
Henderson	2,531	1,403
Hill	2,445	738
Hopkins	1,395	374
Houston	4,631	2,023
Hunt	3,411	1,157
Jackson	993	557
Jasper	2,790	1,273
Jefferson	26,477	10,567
Johnson	1,048	370
Jones	700	144
Kaufman	4,782	1,274
Lamar	4,617	1,721
Lavaca	1,291	674
Lee	1,399	616
Leon	2.538	1,426
Liberty	3,359	1,626
Limestone	3,959	1,894
Lubbock	4,481	2,016
McLennan	13,326	6,038
Madison	1,352	561
Marion	3,086	913
Matagorda	2,787	1,174
Midland	1,258	1,023
Milam	2,735	1,182
Montgomery	3,530	1,361
Morris	1,529	422
Nacogdoches	4,378	2,015
Navarro	5,574	1,513
Newton	1,923	1,081
Nueces	5,182	2,684
Orange	2,558	1,536
Panola	3,035	1,264
Polk	2,624	913
Potter	2,408	712
Red River	2,787	533
Robertson	4,371	1,114
Rockwall	770	283
Rusk	6,614	3,163
Sabine	1,198	361
San Augustine	1,515	601
San Jacinto	1,981	572
Shelby	2,963	615
Smith	12,599	3,713
Tarrant	26,495	8,571
Taylor	1,659	739
Travis	13,890	5,268
Trinity	1,576	1,023
Upshur	3,032	1,369
Victoria	2,051	1,898
Walker	4,322	1,406
Waller	3,150	1,063
Washington	3,957	3,750
Wharton	4,337	1,963
Wichita	3,935	1,006
Williamson	3,203	813

NEGRO VOTING PERFORMANCE FOR SELECTED RURAL LOCALITIES OF TEXAS, BY COUNTIES, 1956*

County	Number Poll Tax Payers	Number of Voters	Per Cent Voters
Angelina	2,336	416	17.8
Bowie	3,012	1,003	33.3
Gregg	2,398	1,522	63.5
Harrison	3,914	1,331	34.0
Milam	1,182	284	24.0
Navarro	1,513	311	20.6
Rusk	3,163	422	13.3
Trinity	1,023	312	30.5

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* County Poll Tax records are more accurate for these small town areas than for metropolitan areas (urban). Record of number of voters, however, is probably less accurate. Average error of percentages is ± .05(100). Respecting this error, the average of these counties can be generalized for all counties containing cities under 50,000 population.

NUMBER OF TEXAS NEGRO POLL TAX PAYERS FOR SELECT YEARS*

Years	Number
1940	36,253
1947	112,841
1952	181,916
1956	209,972

* Counties having less than 1 per cent Negro population not included. Records for 1940 and 1947 were taken from loose sheets of tax collector's office. Therefore, they are subject to some error of under-count. Other years are from Poll Tax books, and possibly more accurate.

NEGRO VOTING PERFORMANCE FOR SELECTED URBAN LOCALITIES OF TEXAS, BY COUNTIES, 1956*

County	Number Negro Poll Tax Payers	Number of Negro Voters	Per Cent Voters
Bexar	15,497	9,422	60.8
Dallas	15,626	7,931	50.8
Galveston	6,490	3,565	54.9
Harris	36,654	8,944	24.4
Jefferson	10,567	3,840	36.3
Tarrant	8,571	5,999	70.0
Travis	5,268	2,713	51.5

* Source: Poll tax payers secured from records of County Court. Number of voters secured from records of Precinct Judges and leaders, some of whom were Negroes. This source holds true for all Poll Tax payers and voters. The sampling order of these data gives an average error of ± .03(100) where generalization is drawn for all counties having cities over 50,000 in population. These counties, plus those grouped as rural localities, include 52.5 per cent of Texas Negroes 21 yrs. of age and over.

Texas

not edited -
JJaB

GENERAL FIELD OBSERVATIONS

Socio-economic Factors: Except for urban areas, the Texas Negro's basis of subsistence is still rooted in the land. Many of them are full-time farmers, rasing cotton and timber in the eastern portions of the state and rice in the southern parts. Some of the rice farmers control extremely large holdings, those around the Jefferson County (Beaumont and Port Arthur) areas grossing far over $100,000 per year. There are many, however, who are small farmers, compelled to supplement their annual income by way of part-time employment in the small towns and nearby cities. This, within itself, is an emancipating force, for it marks the first step toward permanent urban habitation and the grip of the labor unipns.

These economic characteristics make a definite impact upon the Negro's political conceptions and actions. Those who teach, representing the main bulk of the community's leadership, are made a bit politically silent because of the sheer public nature of their job. There are two forces contradicting pressure, however. One of these is the fact that most counties expect their teachers to pay poll tax as an expressinn of good will. They feel that the tax is evidence of citizenship, therefore one who is not a citizen should not be teaching in the schools. Incidentally, this sets a good example for others of the community, and a larger Negro registration results than would ordinarily occur were the method less compulsory in nature. Too, there are those (whites) who know that Negro teachers, Principals especially, have the ear of other Negroes in the community. They believe that if they are made to back a particular candidate others will do likewise. Therefore, these whites encourage Negro teachers to become active in politics in order to realize specific ambitions. An illustration in point is the case that occurred in Limestone County. A Negro man was accused of rape. Feeling ran high. The Sheriff conferred with the Negro school Principal and it was agreed to remove the man to Henderson. With a change of venue, the trial was held under less heated circumstances and the defendant was exonerated. The Sheriff told our interviewer that this was done out of respect for the political influence of the Principal and out of hope that he (the Principal) would encourage more " colored people to understand what the High Sheriff was trying to do for them." The Sheriff was reelected several months later.

Some Superintendents try to dictate to Negro teachers as to how they should vote. This, however, seems to apply only to cases where the interest of the Superintendent's office is indirectly involved.

Farmers, doctors, business men, undertakers, and other self-employed Negroes are virtually free from pressure about matters of politics. Only in a case in which a Negro needs credit is there some inclination to let political leanings influence the deal. These people, then, together with fearless teachers, are forming a corps of leadership around which many political organizations are springing up among Texas Negroes. The Voters League is found in practically every small town. Always, one is available within the next few miles. See documents for their influence in specific areas.

Political Apathy: In areas where registered voters are less than 43 per cent of those of 21 years and over, there is some evidence of political apathy. Many factors contribute to this. One is the lack of voting habit. It has not been many years since Negroes have been allowed to vote in Primary elections in Texas. Consequently, what the ballot means has not yet dawned upon them. There are many with whom we talked who did not vote in the last Texas Democratic Primary election because they did not know that they were allowed to do so. This applies, wherever it occurs, to the small towns and rural areas. There are many, we find, who voted in the Primary of July 28, 1956 but who did not vote in the run-off of August 25, 1956. This they did not do because they honestly thought they would be voting twice, So anxious were they to be correct. Too, it should be noted that many Negro voters have fallen for the " block-vote " propaganda. They truly believe that if they vote at all they must not vote the way other Negroes vote, or they will be doing block voting. This, too, is a conception of a small rural minority. In some small areas, Negro workers believe that they get more through their boss than through the polls. This is traditional--a tradition that is being broken down by movement away from the plantations. There are some Negroes, even in the large cities, who think that holding a receipt for having paid property tax is a prerequisite for voting. They do not know that the Poll tax is the only requirement, providing the age requirement is met. Consequently, many do not vote because of this lack of knowledge. Voters Leagues all over the state are drying up this drain on the Negro electorate and voting strength.

What is most important of all derives from the primary vote right. When the ballot came to Texas Negroes as a result of the Lonnie Smith case, only the rural white and the urban Negro suffered to realize immediate gains. The urban Negro realized political gains through being able to participate in precinct conventions, to help to elect delegates, and even to become a delegate himself. Some of our Documents give ecidence of this and show where it is occuring. In the rural areas, for the most part, Negroes merely pass their political strength on to whites and these whites carry the delegation to the county and state conventions. There are a few exceptions. Fort Bend County did send a Negro delegate to the state convention. On the other hand, Harris County (Houston) had many Negroes at the county convention, sent several to the state, and had some at the National.

Overt Violence: Overt violence in Texas is rare. In the case of political interests, it is very seldom. During the spring we experienced one case of threatened violence. This is the instance in which Traversia Viola, Negro undertaker of West Columbia, Brazoria County, and member of a long standing family of the area, filed for a position on the School Board for the coming election. Most of the many white members who had filed, resigned. This was done in order to avoid splitting the white vote. The next morning after the paper mentioned the incident, a cross was burned in his father's yard across from his (Traversia's) home. We have evidence that it was more a prank than a threat, and nothing more was heard of it. For the last three years Negroes have run for the Houston School Board. Attorney Matthew Plummer ran for a legislative position, and we believe that had he campaigned he would have gotten in the run-off. He polled over seven thousand votes. This occurred in Harris County. San Antonio has had a Negro on its School Board for many years.

Future Prospects: The Negro is on his way toward becoming a dominant political force in Texas. The fear of political corruption that was supposed to derive from opening the Primaries has subsided. The School integration question, although not actually a political issue, is looming large in Texas politics. This gives Negroes a greater sense of political responsibility, and the change is beginning to show its effects. In the July Primary, Ralph Yarborough, a liberal candidate favoring integration, ran against Senator Price Daniel, a conservative who smeared the NAACP and the Supreme Court through radio, television, and Press. Yarborough ran far behind Daniel but close enough to get into the Run-off. That run-off was held August 25. Between the two periods, Daniel followed his hate campaign line and Yarborough was silent on the race question. Nevertheless, Yarborough headquarters rode herd through the Negro neighborhoods of our large cities, announcing by loud speaker that " the ballot is your sacred heritage. You should respect this heritage by going to the Polls and voting." In the end, Daniel, a certain winner secured some 296,000 votes and Yarborough 292,000. They are still counting the votes, for fear that somebody has been cheated. Several mathematical errors cropped up here and there, indicating that the combat is not yet decided. Had the Negroes who voted in the Primary all voted in the Run-off, Yarborough would have been a certain winner, for he carried the Negro areas heavily in each election.

One must not forget that for the most part local elections are the most important to the Negro. In some small areas the election of the sheriff is more important than the election of the President of the United States. School Board elections are important too. These are officials whose efforts deal directly with the lives of the people. Consequently, more Negroes are encouraged to vote by candidates for these offices than by any other force.

Texas

NON-WHITE POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956.

COUNTY	Population	No. Registered	Per Cent
Anderson	6,235	1,488	23.9
Angelina	4,143	2,336	56.4
Austin	1,875	112	6.0
Bailey	150	78	52.0
Bastrop	3,261	1,103	33.8
Bell	8,968	1,264	14.0
Bexar	51,144	15,497	30.3
Bowie	16,467	3,012	18.3
Brazoria	9,900	2,765	27.9
Brazos	8,795	2,504	28.5
Burleson	3,625	835	23.0
Caldwell	1,855	481	25.9
Camp	1,866	779	41.7
Cass	4,332	947	21.9
Chambers	1,105	339	30.7
Cherokee	6,772	986	14.6
Collin	1,624	350	21.6
Colorado	3,852	1,139	29.6
Dallas	108,900	15,626	14.3
Dawson	1,330	62	4.7
Denton	2,623	231	8.8
Dewitt	1,923	349	18.1
Ector	2,243	260	11.6
Ellis	7,090	1,711	24.1
El Paso	16,276	1,433	8.8
Falls	6,190	1,934	31.2
Fannin	3,399	638	18.8
Fayette	2,762	1,244	45.0
Fort Bend	6,461	858	13.3
Freestone	4,487	1,495	33.3
Galveston	26,806	6,490	24.2
Gonzales	3,572	896	25.0
Grayson	6,845	1,117	16.3
Gregg	16,042	2,398	14.9
Grimes	4,730	767	16.2
Guadalupe	2,875	699	24.3
Hardin	3,572	827	23.2
Harris	163,604	36,654	22.4
Harrison	12,872	3,914	30.4
Hays	817	210	25.7
Henderson	2,980	1,403	47.0
Hill	1,977	738	37.3
Hopkins	1,275	374	29.3
Houston	6,685	2,023	30.3
Hunt	3,715	1,157	31.1
Jackson	1,165	557	47.8

NON-WHITE POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956

COUNTY	Population	No. Registered	Per Cent
Jasper	5,563	1,273	22.9
Jefferson	47,916	10,567	22.0
Johnson	1,335	370	27.7
Jones	581	144	24.8
Kaufman	5,333	1,274	23.9
Lamar	4,972	1,721	34.6
Lavaca	2,941	674	22.9
Lee	1,535	616	40.1
Leon	2,946	1,426	48.4
Liberty	5,734	1,626	28.4
Limestone	5,192	1,894	36.5
Lubbock	17,136	2,016	11.8
McLennan	25,371	6,038	23.8
Madison	1,359	561	41.3
Marion	2,541	913	35.9
Matagorda	5,179	1,174	22.7
Midland	7,195	1,023	14.2
Milam	4,177	1,182	28.3
Montgomery	5,342	1,361	25.4
Morris	1,483	422	28.5
Nacogdoches	6,782	2,015	29.7
Navarro	6,990	1,513	21.6
Newton	3,552	1,081	30.4
Nueces	13,814	2,684	19.4
Orange	6,618	1,536	23.2
Panola	4,821	1,264	26.2
Polk	2,368	913	38.6
Potter	6,344	712	11.2
Red River	3,297	533	16.2
Robertson	3,812	1,114	29.2
Rockwall	695	283	40.7
Rusk	8,182	3,163	38.7
Sabine	1,576	361	22.9
San Augustine	1,263	601	47.6
San Jacinto	2,146	572	26.7
Shelby	3,924	615	15.7
Smith	18,698	3,713	19.9
Tarrant	71,826	8,571	11.9
Taylor	4,634	739	15.9
Travis	27,855	5,268	18.9
Trinity	1,449	1,023	70.6
Upshur	2,772	1,369	49.4
Victoria	5,451	1,898	34.8
Walker	6,924	1,406	20.3
Waller	2,908	1,063	36.6

NON-WHITE POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956 (Continued)

COUNTY	Population	No. Registered	Per Cent
Washington	4,606	3,750	81.4
Wharton	4,937	1,963	39.8
Wichita	9,514	1,006	10.6
Williamson	3,336	813	24.4
Total	954,115	209,897	22.0

TEXAS

WHITE POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956

COUNTY	Population	No. Registered	Per Cent
Anderson	13,444	5,345	39.8
Angelina	18,009	8,285	46.0
Austin	8,783	4,151	47.3
Bailey	5,387	2,044	37.9
Bastrop	7,476	2,793	37.4
Bell	44,815	11,472	25.6
Bexar	344,401	122,430	35.5
Bowie	26,903	11,261	41.9
Brazoria	36,119	14,516	40.2
Brazos	25,053	8,878	35.4
Burleson	5,598	2,257	40.3
Caldwell	8,815	3,527	40.0
Camp	3,892	2,216	56.9
Cass	9,913	4,314	43.5
Chambers	5,644	3,429	60.8
Cherokee	16,098	6,595	41.0
Collin	22,746	6,653	29.2
Colorado	10,893	5,187	47.6
Dallas	438,953	224,453	51.1
Dawson	20,601	13,051	63.4
Denton	25,442	7,455	29.3
Dewitt	11,569	4,638	40.1
Ector	30,018	12,724	42.4
Ellis	20,255	4,750	23.5
El Paso	124,082	10,275	8.2
Falls	13,280	4,290	32.3
Fannin	21,354	14,675	68.7
Fayette	15,168	4,867	32.1
Fort Bend	13,939	6,531	46.9
Freestone	5,287	2,244	42.4
Galveston	73,350	37,393	51.0
Gonzales	10,477	3,225	30.8
Grayson	39,305	12,725	32.4
Gregg	32,084	18,912	58.9
Grimes	5,534	4,558	82.4
Guadalupe	11,886	4,297	36.2
Hardin	11,314	4,339	38.4
Harris	530,229	252,248	47.6
Harrison	13,372	4,449	33.3
Hays	10,954	2,750	25.1
Henderson	16,515	6,478	39.2
Hill	16,612	5,261	31.7
Hopkins	12,804	9,235	72.1
Houston	11,490	3,859	33.6
Hunt	21,764	7,997	36.7
Jackson	9,085	3,561	39.2

WHITE POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956 (Continued)

COUNTY	Population	No. Registered	Per Cent
Jasper	12,801	3,988	31.2
Jefferson	129,061	67,282	52.1
Johnson	19,276	6,743	35.0
Jones	12,387	2,626	21.2
Kaufman	12,026	3,989	33.2
Lamar	22,253	8,285	28.2
Lavaca	19,793	6,648	33.6
Lee	6,657	2,399	36.0
Leon	5,686	1,798	31.6
Liberty	15,579	9,098	58.4
Limestone	12,977	5,229	40.3
Lubbock	64,039	21,605	33.7
McLennan	72,551	31,700	43.7
Madison	3,772	1,442	38.2
Marion	2,330	823	35.3
Matagorda	12,816	6,182	48.2
Midland	29,063	10,405	35.8
Milam	15,567	5,086	32.7
Montgomery	14,652	5,642	38.5
Morris	3,830	1,705	44.5
Nacogdoches	13,101	5,961	45.5
Navarro	15,172	5,468	36.0
Newton	6,472	2,181	33.7
Nueces	117,945	40,608	34.4
Orange	32,151	13,731	42.7
Panola	10,440	3,737	35.8
Polk	6,033	2,432	40.3
Potter	43,927	7,419	16.9
Red River	13,283	3,528	26.6
Robertson	6,655	3,017	45.3
Rockwall	3,575	2,368	66.2
Rusk	19,887	9,464	47.6
Sabine	6,183	2,819	45.6
San Augustine	4,395	1,288	29.3
San Jacinto	3,185	654	20.5
Shelby	13,508	4,379	32.4
Smith	30,059	12,287	40.9
Tarrant	344,958	131,076	38.0
Taylor	42,407	11,883	28.0
Travis	103,270	47,355	45.9
Trinity	6,184	1,703	27.5
Upshur	10,002	4,942	49.4
Victoria	17,211	6,745	39.2
Walker	11,297	2,109	18.7
Waller	4,121	1,225	29.7

WHITE POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956 (Continued)

COUNTY	Population	No. Registered	Per Cent
Washington	10,504	6,048	57.6
Wharton	18,820	8,899	47.3
Wichita	60,121	20,748	34.5
Williamson	20,297	6,499	32.0
Total	3,655,138	1,516,065	41.5

TEXAS POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956*

COUNTY	Population	Registered	Per Cent
Anderson	19,679	6,833	34.7
Angelina	22,152	10,621	47.9
Austin	10,658	4,263	40.0
Bailey	5,537	2,122	38.3
Bastrop	10,737	3,896	36.3
Bell	53,783	12,736	23.7
Bexar	395,545	137,927	34.9
Bowie	43,370	14,273	32.9
Brazoria	46,019	17,281	37.6
Brazos	33,848	11,382	33.6
Burleson	9,223	3,092	33.5
Caldwell	10,670	4,008	37.6
Camp	5,758	2,995	52.0
Cass	14,245	5,261	36.9
Chambers	6,749	3,768	55.8
Cherokee	22,870	7,581	33.1
Collin	24,370	7,003	28.7
Colorado	14,745	6,326	42.9
Dallas	547,853	240,079	43.8
Dawson	21,931	13,113	59.8
Denton	28,065	7,686	27.4
Dewitt	13,492	4,987	37.0
Ector	32,261	12,984	40.2
Ellis	27,345	6,461	23.6
El Paso	140,358	32,372	23.1
Falls	19,470	6,224	32.0
Fannin	24,753	15,313	61.9
Fayette	17,930	6,111	34.1
Fort Bend	20,400	7,389	36.2
Freestone	9,774	3,739	38.3
Galveston	100,156	43,883	43.8
Gonzales	14,049	4,121	29.3
Grayson	46,150	13,842	30.0
Gregg	48,126	21,310	44.3
Grimes	10,264	5,325	51.9
Guadalupe	14,761	4,996	33.8
Hardin	14,886	5,166	34.7
Harris	693,833	288,902	41.6
Harrison	26,244	8,363	31.9
Hays	11,771	2,960	25.1
Henderson	19,495	7,881	40.4
Hill	18,589	5,999	32.3
Hopkins	14,079	9,609	68.3
Houston	18,175	5,882	32.4

TEXAS POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956 (Continued)

COUNTY	Population	Registered	Per Cent
Hunt	25,479	9,154	35.9
Jackson	10,250	4,112	40.1
Jasper	18,364	5,261	28.6
Jefferson	176,977	77,849	44.0
Johnson	20,611	7,113	34.5
Jones	12,968	2,770	21.4
Kaufman	17,359	5,263	30.3
Lamar	27,225	10,006	36.8
Lavaca	22,734	7,322	32.2
Lee	8,192	3,015	36.8
Leon	8,632	3,224	37.3
Liberty	21,313	8,926	41.9
Limestone	18,169	7,123	39.2
Lubbock	81,175	23,621	29.1
McLennan	97,922	27,738	38.5
Madison	5,131	2,003	39.0
Marion	4,871	1,736	35.6
Matagorda	17,995	7,356	40.9
Midland	36,258	11,428	31.5
Milam	19,744	6,268	31.7
Montgomery	19,994	7,003	35.0
Morris	5,313	2,127	40.0
Nacogdoches	19,883	7,976	40.1
Navarro	22,162	6,981	31.5
Newton	10,024	3,262	32.5
Nueces	131,759	43,292	32.9
Orange	38,769	15,267	39.4
Panola	15,261	5,001	32.8
Polk	8,401	3,345	39.8
Potter	50,271	8,131	16.7
Red River	16,580	4,061	24.5
Robertson	10,467	4,131	39.5
Rockwall	4,270	2,644	61.9
Rusk	28,069	12,627	45.0
Sabine	7,759	3,265	42.1
San Augustine	5,658	1,889	33.4
San Jacinto	5,331	2,232	41.9
Shelby	9,584	7,598	79.3
Smith	48,757	16,000	32.8
Tarrant	416,784	139,647	33.5
Taylor	47,041	12,622	26.8
Travis	131,125	52,623	40.1
Trinity	7,633	2,726	35.7

TEXAS POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NUMBER AND PER CENT REGISTERED, BY COUNTIES, 1956*(Continued)

COUNTY	Population	Registered	Per Cent
Upshur	12,774	6,311	49.4
Victoria	22,662	8,643	38.1
Walker	18,221	7,191	39.4
Waller	7,029	2,288	32.5
Washington	15,110	9,798	64.8
Wharton	23,757	10,862	45.7
Wichita	69,635	21,754	31.2
Williamson	23,633	7,312	30.9
Total	4,609,253	1,725,962	37.4

* Registered voters are poll tax payers. Population of voting age estimated and adjusted for intercensal change.

PER CENT NEGROES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, BY COUNTY, TEXAS, 1956*

County	Per Cent Negroes in Total Pop. of Voting Age
Anderson	27.1
Angelina	16.2
Austin	16.8
Bailey	3.4
Bastrop	28.3
Bell	11.5
Bexar	7.4
Bowie	23.1
Brazoria	14.5
Brazos	22.4
Burleson	42.5
Caldwell	15.6
Camp	35.9
Cass	28.3
Chambers	17.9
Cherokee	26.0
Collin	7.9
Colorado	23.2
Dallas	13.2
Dawson	5.2
Denton	5.5
DeWitt	13.8
Ector	3.9
Ellis	20.6
El Paso	2.8
Falls	28.7
Fannin	9.3
Fayette	13.9
Fort Bend	24.3
Freestone	43.1
Galveston	21.3
Gonzales	17.0
Grayson	8.5
Gregg	26.7
Grimes	37.2
Guadalupe	14.0
Hardin	15.8
Harris	18.5
Harrison	46.8
Hays	7.1
Henderson	12.7
Hill	12.3
Hopkins	9.3
Houston	34.4
Hunt	12.6
Jackson	13.4
Jasper	24.2
Jefferson	21.5

County	Per Cent Negroes in Total Pop. of Voting Age
Johnson	5.2
Jones	5.2
Kaufman	24.2
Lamar	17.2
Lavaca	9.2
Lee	22.7
Leon	34.6
Liberty	21.4
Limestone	25.0
Lubbock	7.4
McLennan	15.9
Madison	27.6
Marion	52.6
Matagorda	21.8
Midland	8.1
Milam	18.7
Montgomery	24.5
Morris	27.4
Nacogdoches	32.4
Navarro	28.7
Newton	32.6
Nueces	5.5
Orange	10.0
Panola	28.0
Polk	27.4
Potter	5.1
Red River	21.2
Robertson	37.5
Rockwall	20.8
Rusk	26.0
Sabine	23.9
San Augustine	30.7
San Jacinto	49.2
Shelby	21.3
Smith	27.2
Tarrant	11.1
Taylor	4.2
Travis	13.6
Trinity	25.7
Upshur	24.5
Victoria	20.9
Walker	34.2
Waller	46.7
Washington	30.1
Wharton	21.1
Wichita	6.5
Williamson	12.9

* Population for 1956 extrapolated from straight-line curve based upon method of least squares using those over 21 for 1900-50. Tables made from random samples of metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties.

TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS, PER CENT OF ELECTORATE REGISTERED, AND PER CENT OF REGISTERED VOTING IN TEXAS BY COUNTY, 1956*

County	No. Registered	Per Cent of Electorate Registered	Per Cent of Registered Voting
Anderson	6,833	34.3	27.9
Angelina	10,621	48.7	42.8
Austin	4,263	43.8	36.7
Bailey	2,122	50.9	41.9
Bastrop	3,896	32.6	26.3
Bell	12,736	27.7	41.2
Bexar	137,927	45.7	55.5
Bowie	14,273	37.4	31.7
Brazoria	17,281	61.5	8.1
Brazos	11,382	50.9	20.4
Burleson	3,092	39.6	95.8
Caldwell	4,008	35.1	88.2
Camp	2,995	55.3	21.5
Cass	5,261	34.3	41.3
Chambers	3,768	80.7	29.6
Cherokee	7,581	30.5	59.0
Collin	7,003	26.5	59.4
Colorado	6,326	57.1	48.7
Dallas	240,079	58.3	47.7
Dawson	13,113	29.6	61.0
Denton	7,686	31.0	73.1
DeWitt	4,987	34.7	41.1
Ector	12,984	51.4	41.8
Ellis	6,461	22.8	35.3
El Paso	32,372	29.0	36.2
Falls	6,224	38.7	43.9
Fannin	15,313	26.6	44.6
Fayette	6,111	38.7	29.6
Fort Bend	7,389	40.5	41.8
Freestone	3,739	60.2	51.3
Galveston	43,883	32.8	27.1
Gonzales	4,121	30.1	35.0
Grayson	13,842	55.8	71.7
Gregg	21,310	22.4	63.2
Grimes	5,325	33.3	41.8
Guadalupe	4,996	45.1	53.0
Hardin	5,166	55.2	48.3
Harris	288,902	30.5	25.9
Harrison	8,363	29.3	40.8
Hays	2,960	52.8	46.5
Henderson	7,881	30.3	30.7

County	No. Registered	Per Cent of Electorate Registered	Per Cent of Registered Voting
Hill	5,999	46.3	69.2
Hopkins	9,609	43.7	59.3
Houston	5,882	33.7	41.8
Hunt	9,154	55.6	25.0
Jackson	4,112	45.7	32.1
Jasper	5,261	63.4	22.2
Jefferson	77,849	35.0	55.4
Johnson	7,113	20.4	29.1
Jones	2,770	26.6	37.9
Kaufman	5,263	37.4	29.0
Lamar	10,006	52.0	64.5
Lavaca	7,322	48.9	40.6
Lee	3,015	44.0	33.1
Leon	3,224	56.9	79.2
Liberty	8,926	44.9	27.1
Limestone	7,123	39.3	28.2
Lubbock	23,621	44.9	62.9
McLennan	37,738	40.9	64.4
Madison	2,003	29.6	27.9
Marion	1,736	57.5	39.6
Matagorda	7,356	73.3	39.5
Midland	11,428	43.0	32.0
Milam	6,268	48.5	29.6
Montgomery	7,003	38.1	84.8
Morris	2,127	44.6	80.4
Nacogdoches	7,976	27.9	18.1
Navarro	6,981	55.3	44.1
Newton	3,262	46.0	84.9
Nueces	43,292	65.4	58.1
Orange	15,267	46.1	40.9
Panola	5,001	34.9	53.2
Polk	3,345	17.2	27.6
Potter	8,131	31.1	21.0
Red River	4,061	35.4	19.9
Robertson	4,131	30.5	78.2
Rockwall	2,644	49.5	41.8
Rusk	12,627	23.8	28.3
Sabine	3,265	38.3	41.8
San Augustine	1,889	30.5	33.1
San Jacinto	2,232	35.8	76.3
Shelby	7,598	34.6	63.6
Smith	16,000	58.3	64.8
Tarrant	139,647	31.7	45.6
Taylor	12,622	51.4	66.2
Travis	52,623	44.5	40.3

County	No. Registered	Per Cent of Electorate Registered	Per Cent of Registered Voting
Trinity	2,726	50.9	31.5
Upshur	6,311	45.8	13.8
Victoria	8,643	27.9	28.6
Walker	7,191	33.9	85.5
Waller	2,288	74.5	28.6
Washington	9,798	52.8	27.3
Wharton	10,862	36.0	31.8
Wichita	21,754	30.4	58.5
Williamson	7,312	41.8	25.3

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* Registered voters are Poll Tax Payers. Electorate is population over 21, adjusted to intercensal changes. Voters not broken down by race, for data could be made available only for selected counties. We made a special table for this.

C

TEXAS

		POLL TAXES PAID	LISTED EXEMPTS	UNLISTED EXEMPTS EST.	1958 Voter TOTAL	% NEGRO POPULATION 1950
		000,	0,	00,	000,	000,
1	Anderson	917	188	656	1761	4,864
2	Andrews	33	0	1	34	34
3	Angelina E	768	242	188	1,198	5,944
4	Aransas	54	0	9	63	107
5	Archer EX	1	0	1	2	16
6	Armstrong EX	0	0	0	0	7
7	Atascosa	24	0	12	36	240
8	Austin EE	365 ↔	0	435	800	3,016
9	Bailey EX	29	0	6	35	239
10	Bandera	2	0	1	2	15
11	Bastrop	666	0	858	1,524	6,196
12	Baylor	6	0	8	14	108
13	Bee ~~EX~~	120 ~~56~~	0	55	175 ~~[illegible]~~	470
14	Bell	1,007	13	211	1,231	8,646
15	Bexar	6,175	1,376	216	7,767	32,565
16	Blanco	15	0	23	38	105
17	Borden	0	0	0	0	24
18	Bosque	9	0	59	68	373
19	Bowie X	1,614	355	922	2,891	15,184
20	Brazoria	1,419	29	672	2,120	6,845
21	Brazos	700	350	533	1,583	9,192
22	Brewster	7	0	7	14	40
23	Briscoe EX	10	0	2	12	98
24	Brooks	4	0	2	6	39

		POLL TAXES PAID	LISTED EXEMPTS	UNLISTED EXEMPTS EST	TOTAL	NEGR. POPULATION
65	Donley	13	0	20	33	253
66	Duval	4	0	6	10	3
67	Eastland EX	38	0	62	100	313
68	Ector EX	557 ~~139~~	0	28	~~217~~ 383	1,571
69	Edwards	0	1	1	1	13
70	Ellis EE	1,270 ↔	0	852	2,122	10,843
71	El Paso EX 23%	905 ↔	0	57	962	4,182
72	Erath	4	0	25	29	148
73	Falls	321	38	1,121	1,480	8,590
74	Fannin EE	384 ↔	0	490	874	8,282
75	Fayette	275	0	643	918	3,926
76	Fisher	31	0	48	79	561
77	Floyd	36	0	16	52	387
78	Foard	23	0	15	38	430
79	Fort Bend EE	909 ↔	0	952	1,861	7,520
80	Franklin	50	0	54	104	424
81	Freestone	746	5	860	1,611	6,316
82	Frio	8	0	6	14	98
83	Gaines EX	14	0	5	19	119
84	Galveston	6,011	961	358	7,330	23,712
85	Garza	37	0	10	47	242
86	Gillespie	2	0	4	6	15
87	Glasscock	0	0	1	1	11
88	Goliad EX	77	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	638

25	Brown X	127	41	90	258	906	89	Gonzales	224	0	560	784	3,92[illegible]
26	Burleson EE	508 ↔	0	704	1,212	4,203	90	Gray EX	75	0	2	77	623
27	Burnet EX	26	0	16	42	220	91	Grayson EEP	1,900 ↔	0	232	2,132	6,187
28	Caldwell [illegible]	370	0	448	820	3,068	92	Gregg	4,412 ↔	0	690	5,102	14,963
29	Calhoun	118	1	58	177	712	93	Grimes EE	740 ↔	0	948	1,688	6,116
30	Callahan	0	0	2	2	7	94	Guadalupe EE	438 ↔	0	541	979	3,622
31	Cameron EX	88	0	39	127	732	95	Hale EEP	89	0	11	100	1,039
32	Camp EE	532 ↔	0	468	1,000	3,478	96	Hall EX	118	0	38	156	986
33	Carson	3	0	2	5	11	97	Hamilton	0	0	1	1	1
34	Cass EE	1,324 ↔	0	917	2,241	8,657	98	Hansford	0	0	0	0	0
35	Castro	19	0	1	20	64	99	Hardeman EX	99	0	65	164	622
36	Chambers	621	0	174	795	1,526	100	Hardin	761	4	334	1,099	3,079
37	Cherokee	883	0	1,101	1,984	10,634	101	Harris	44,282 ↔	0	1,712	45,994	149,286
38	Childress	61	0	62	123	832	102	Harrison EEP	2,000 ↔	200	1,543	3,743	24,717
39	Clay	9	0	21	30	81	103	Hartley	0	0	1	1	11
40	Cochran EX	20	0	10	30	164	104	Haskell	35	0	45	80	887
41	Coke	0	0	0	0	5	105	Hays	128	0	187	315	1,144
42	Coleman EX	48	0	38	86	402	106	Hemphill	0	0	0	0	1
43	Collin EE	444 ↔	0	244	688	3,792	107	Henderson	463	0	518	981	4,766
44	Collingsworth EX	81	0	48	129	671	108	Hidalgo EX	73	0	77	150	609
45	Colorado	535	0	687	1,222	4,436	109	Hill	105	0	490	595	4,677
46	Comal	15	0	1	16	277	110	Hockley	31	0	28	59	940
47	Comanche	0	0	3	3	8	111	Hood	4	0	25	29	30
48	Concho	0	0	1	1	10	112	Hopkins	201	0	292	493	2,631
49	Cooke EE	112 ↔	0	18	130	959	113	Houston	701	4	1,050	1,755	8,918
50	Coryell	8	0	49	57	424	114	Howard X	155	27	4	186	890
51	Cottle EX	46	0	14	60	385	115	Hudspeth	0	0	1	10	25
52	Crane	53	0	1	54	104	116	Hunt EE	738 ↔	0	260	998	6,309
53	Crockett EX	12	0	6	18	106	117	Hutchinson	113	28	31	172	522
54	Crosby EX	99	0	39	138	827	118	Irion EX	0	0	1	1	10
55	Culberson	0	0	0	0	4	119	Jack EX	8	0	4	12	74

55 Culberson	0	0	0	0	4	119 Jack EX	8	0	4	12	74
56 Dallam	6	0	2	8	35	120 Jackson	166	1	202	369	1,714
57 Dallas (EEP)	17,074 ←→	0	1,615	18,689	82,922	121 Jasper [redacted]	636 ~~761~~	3 ~~0~~	572	~~1,336~~ 1,211	5,305
58 Dawson X	103	29	2	134	1,091	122 Jeff Davis	2	0	3	5	26
59 Deaf Smith	4	0	0	4	6	123 Jefferson	8,616	1,383	162	10,161	44,122
60 Delta	24	0	101	125	934	124 Jim Hogg	2	0	1	3	15
61 Denton E	200	0	105	305	2,321	125 Jim Wells EX	48	0	3	51	401
62 DeWitt EE	387 ←→	0	547	934	3,199	126 Johnson	80	3	98	181	1,7[illegible]1
63 Dickens	14	0	31	45	369	127 Jones	58	0	109	167	1,333
64 Dimmit	3	0	5	8	63	128 Karnes	74	1	95	170	59

			Poll Taxes Paid	Listed Exempts	Unlisted Exempts Est	Total	Negro Population
129	Kaufman	EE	1,042 ↔	0	465	1,507	8,905
130	Kendall		8	0	19	27	60
131	Kenedy		0	0	0	0	0
132	Kent	EX	6	0	4	10	48
133	Kerr	EX	68	0	56	114	564
134	Kimble		1	0	2	3	5
135	King	EX	7	0	2	9	62
136	Kinney		56	0	36	92	221
137	Kleberg		253	0	2	255	810
138	Knox		21	0	42	63	613
139	Lamar	X	561	276	363	1,200	7,971
140	Lamb	EX	159	0	44	203	1,326
141	Lampasas	EX	24	0	38	62	201
142	LaSalle	EX	2	0	5	7	15
143	Lavaca		127	0	372	499	2,278
144	Lee	EE	326 ↔	0	425	751	2,695
145	Leon	EE	682 ↔	0	636	1,318	4,737
146	Liberty		1,144 ↔	22	590	1,756	6,071
147	Limestone		1,305	22	827	2,154	7,468
148	Lipscomb		0	0	1	1	2
149	Live Oak		0	0	2	2	31
150	Llano	EX	6	0	7	13	54
151	Loving		4	0	0	4	0
152	Lubbock	X	404	90	48	542	7,893
153	Lynn		28	0	23	51	592
154	Madison		194	30	315	539	2,618
155	Marion	EE	885 ↔	0	721	1,606	5,782
156	Martin	EX	32	0	8	40	263
157	Mason		0	0	4	3	64
158	Matagorda	EE	581 ↔	0	601	1,182	4,809

			Poll Taxes Paid	Listed Exempts	Unlisted Exempts Est.	Total	Negro Population
193	Real		1	0	0	1	8
194	Red River		318	0	647	965	5,230
195	Reeves	EX	33	0	10	43	276
196	Refugio	EX	134	0	101	235	1,120
197	Roberts		0	0	0	0	0
198	Robertson		753	0	1,147	1,900	8,212
199	Rockwall	EE	197 ↔	0	116	313	1,688
200	Runnels		0	0	60	60	509
201	Rusk		2,093	29	1,258	3,380	12,632
202	Sabine	EE	322 ↔	0	185	507	2,240
203	San Augustine		236	0	302	538	3,068
204	San Jacinto	E	542 ↔	0	528	1,070	3,767
205	San Patricio		52	0	41	93	723
206	San Saba		7	3	11	21	70
207	Schleicher	EX	12	0	5	17	99
208	Scurry	EX	47	0	15	62	341
209	Shackelford		8	0	17	25	135
210	Shelby	EEP	700	0	584	1,284	5,916
211	Sherman		0	0	0	0	2
212	Smith	XE	2,000	500	1,276	3,776	22,291
213	Somervell		0	0	0	0	2
214	Starr		0	0	1	0	3
215	Stephens		151	0	50	201	359
216	Sterling	EX	1	0	0	1	13
217	Stonewall	EX	12	0	14	26	101
218	Sutton		4	0	1	5	33
219	Swisher		4	0	6	10	104
220	Tarrant	X	4,590	433	242	5,265	39,674
221	Taylor	X EX	307	0	26	333	2,561
222	Terrell		1	0	3	4	13

157	Mason	0	0	4	3	64	221	Taylor X EX	307	0	26	333	2,561
158	Matagorda EE	581 ↔	0	601	1,182	4,809	222	Terrell	1	0	3	4	13
159	Maverick	0	0	4	4	10	223	Terry EX	46	0	16	62	382
160	McCulloch EX	44	0	35	79	370	224	Throckmorton	0	0	1	1	1
161	McLennan EEP	4,000 ↔	0	800	4,800	22,329	225	Titus	566	0	305	871	3,197
162	McMullen	0	0	1	10	5	226	Tom Green X	500	110	2	612	3,091
163	Medina	12	0	32	44	207	227	Travis	3,919	961	473	5,353	22,493
164	Menard EX	3	0	5	8	29	228	Trinity	1,100	7	417	1,524	2,688
165	Midland	672	78	13	763	2,123	229	Tyler	227	0	205	432	2,232
166	Milam	210	0	715	925	5,150	230	Upshur EE	919 ↔	0	604	1,523	6,009
167	Mills	0	0	1	1	2	231	Upton	84	0	11	95	207
168	Mitchell E	200	0	63	263	905	232	Uvalde	10	0	23	33	193
169	Montague	0	0	0	0	1	233	Val Verde X	43	15	2	60	355
170	Montgomery	1,084	0	704	1,788	6,149	234	Van Zandt EE	181	0	180	361	1,543
171	Moore	0	0	1	1	6	235	Victoria X	420	46	182	648	3,073
172	Morris	269	2	274	545	3,126	236	Walker	792	0	885	1,677	7,494
173	Motley	18	0	16	34	259	237	Waller EE	765 ↔	0	626	1,391	6,328
174	Nacogdoches X	879	191	429	1,499	8,655	238	Ward	76	1	21	98	319
175	Navarro X	785	200	550	1,535	9,886	239	Washington EE	846 ↔	0	1,202	2,048	6,993
176	Newton	631	4	436	1,071	3,824	240	Webb X	1	3	0	4	79
177	Nolan X	61	23	6	90	783	241	Wharton EE	949 ↔	0	1,008	1,957	7,843
178	Nueces X	1,566	100	30	1,696	7,958	242	Wheeler	10	0	25	35	288
179	Ochiltree	0	0	0	0	0	243	Wichita X	803	191	27	1,021	6,276
180	Oldham	0	0	0	0	1	244	Wilbarger EX	210	0	22	323	1,746
181	Orange EE	632 ↔	0	32	664	4,387	245	Willacy EX	13	0	12	25	110
182	Palo Pinto E	100	0	82	182	668	246	Williamson	56	0	655	711	5,864
183	Panola	891	0	543	1,434	6,643	247	Wilson	24	0	60	84	310
184	Parker EX	32	0	54	86	263	248	Winkler	71	0	6	77	170
185	Parmer EX	2	0	1	3	17	249	Wise	7	0	16	23	135
186	Pecos	12	0	6	18	136	250	Wood	328	0	399	677	3,124

185 Parmer EX	2	0	1	3	17
186 Pecos	12	0	6	18	136
187 Polk EE	648	↔ 0	599	1,247	4,504
188 Potter X	184	133	2	319	3,556
189 Presidio	1	0	9	10	57
190 Rains EX	51	0	41	92	424
191 Randall	0	0	4	4	47
192 Reagan EX	17	0	3	20	141

Source: → SRC Consultant
Population figures: 1950 Census

249 Wise	7	0	16	23	135
250 Wood	328	0	399	677	3,124
251 Yoakum	17	0	1	18	13
252 Young EE	17	0	9	26	140
253 Zapata	0	0	0	0	1
254 Zavala	23	1	7	31	95
Totals	~~163,469~~	~~8,752~~	54,291	~~226,512~~	977,458
	~~163,405~~	8,954		~~226,450~~	
	163,773			226,818	

LONG NEWS SERVICE

Stuart Long

Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin 11, Texas
Phones: GR 7-1686 GR 2-7174
Telegraph: Capitol Pressroom
Austin, Texas

February 11, 1959

Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Price:

I apologize for my delay in answering your letter. It is just pure put-it-offedness on my part.

The county tabular forms are enclosed.

The number of eligible voters in Texas stacks up like this (for the 1958 elections): Poll taxes paid, 1,770,811. Exemption certificates issued, 284,508. Total both categories, 2,055,318. Then there are the persons over 60 outside cities of 10,000 or more, who need to be added to that total. As far as I know, no estimate has been made of that group, which I call the "unlisted exempt", and which, of course, we have counted by census figures in all the counties of Texas, for Negroes alone, as 54,291. If we apply that figure to the total Negro census population of 1950, we find that 5.5% of the total Negro population is over 65 and living outside cities. Take 5.5% of the 6,733,736, and adjust it to the various situations, and you come up with an estimate of non-Negro "unlisted exempts" of 167,017. This would make the total eligible electorate come to 2,222,335, of both races.

There have been some late returns from some counties, and I wish you would adjust the counties, and the totals, accordingly:

	Polls	Listed Exempts	
Jasper County:	636	3	(actual count)
Bee County:	120	0	" "
Caldwell County:	370		" "

This will change the totals Statewide to:

226818

Polls: 163,405 Listed Exempts: 8,754 Grand Total 226,450

368

Naturally, I need to point out that our calculation on Caldwell missed by one, but I won't mention Jasper and Bee.

Please let me know when I may publish these figures. It has been a pleasure working with you, and please feel free to call on me if I can be of further help.

Sincerely,

Stuart Long

Stuart Long

Special Suffrage - Texas

LONG NEWS SERVICE

Stuart Long

Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin 11, Texas
Phones: GR 7-1686 GR 2-7174
Telegraph: Capitol Pressroom
Austin, Texas

Jan. 20, 1959

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Note: tabulations filed in LWD's office: Manuscripts -

Dear Mrs. Price:

We are enclosing a tabulation giving the picture of the number of Negroes qualified to vote in Texas during the year from Feb. 1, 1958 to Jan. 31, 1959.

We had fairly good success in getting actual counts made of the poll tax and exemption lists, in that you will find 165 counties with actual counts on poll taxes paid and on listed exemptions. In some cases they gave us the figures lumped together, in which case they are listed as "poll taxes paid" with an arrow breaking the line to show that this figure (as in the case of Harris County, the State's largest) includes the poll taxes paid and listed exemptions. These further footnotes are required:

E--Means county tax assessor-collector's estimate.
EEP--Means "educated estimate by a political source".
EX--Means "statistical estimate based on 12% of total Negro population in county".
EE--Means "statistical estimate based on the percentage paid in known adjoining counties".
X -- Means a city of 10,000 population in county, which means that those over 60 in city limits must get exemption certificate and become a "listed exempt" to vote.

The column of "unlisted exempts" was obtained by using pure census figures (1950, of course) of the total number in the county who were over 60 and therefore entitled to vote without obtaining an exemption certificate, and who lived outside a city of 10,000 or more. Texas law provides that one over 60 is exempt from paying the poll tax, but must get an annual exemption certificate if they live in a city of 10,000 or larger. Thus, we were able to ascertain exactly, from census figures, the number eligible to vote as "rural overage exempts". We realize that the migration to the cities has been developing since 1950, but feel that the census figures on persons in older age brackets are more likely to have remained valid than in the case of younger people.

We carried the column of county Negro population because we felt it would be interesting to compare by counties

As for the counties marked "EE", here was our procedure. When we were unable to get actual figures on a county, we took a tier of counties on all sides of it, chosen because they had much the same sort of racial patterns, added up the total qualified voters, and calculated this total as a percentage of the Negro population in the tiers of known counties. Then we applied this percentage to the Negro population in the unknown county to reach our "Educated Estimate". We believe this to be valid, or at least as valid a way as can be devised. After we had applied this method, we got in late reports on actual counts, and found it to be very close in all cases. It should be noted that the "unlisted exempts" were taken in all counties from census figures, because in all counties there are rural areas where oldsters need not get exemption certificates to vote. (Now I will grant that it is possible that many of these 54,291 may not know that they are entitled to vote, but under the law they are, and many of them do.)

There are cases, of course, where the census doesn't show any Negro population, yet there are Negro voters. That is due, of course, to the fact that they have moved in since 1950. You will be interested to look at Loving County, the smallest in Texas, in far West Texas at the New Mexico border. The census found none in 1950, but the tax collector says there are now four, and that all of them pay their poll taxes and vote every time. It probably is the only 100% qualification and vote in Texas.

Let us make one suggestion in the use of these figures. We are convimced that they are valid, but of course the totals in some of the estimated counties could be subject to attack. So if they are to be published by counties, they should be clearly labeled as statistical estimates.

There is only one county where we departed from the footnote definitions used above. We gave El Paso County a 23% figure instead of 12% because there is a strong liberal movement there, manned by lineral whites and Latin-Americans, much like the one in San Antonio and if anything, better. So we used the San Antonio percentage of 23% (Bexar County) in arriving at an educated estimate on El Paso.

Our job was complicated by the fact that many counties do not "segregate" their poll lists by showing "white" or "Negro". For that reason, it just is not possible to make an actual count on the poll tax list.

We are enclosing our bill for these services. If you have any further questions, we will be glad to answer them. I believe this survey is the first ever made in Texas, and the figure is higher than the 150,000 I have seen used. I would like permission to use these figures in stories for the daily newspapers I represent, when you are ready to release them. Some of my newspapers cooperated with me in making the count, and they have asked for stories when it is finished. If it is to be released for publication, please let me have the release date in advance so I can prepare my stories. If you do not care to release them, then it won't be done, since they are your property when you pay for them.

Please call on us again if we can be of any help.

Sincerely,

Stuart Long

Stuart Long

P.S: Counties with no "footnote" were actual Counts of the Poll tax and exemption lists.

2222333
224450
1995685

4 March 1959

Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

There has been a late return from Ector County, Texas, with regard to the "eligible voters" statistics we've been working on. Please make the following changes on your county-chart:

	Polls	Listed Exempts	Unlisted Exempts	Total
Ector	557 (—)	0	no change (28)	585.

This makes the state wide totals 163,773 for poll taxes paid and the total paid and exempt 226,818. All other totals remain the same.

Sincerely yours,

Stuart Long
Stuart Long

cc to MC

PER CENT OF TOTAL REGISTERED VOTING IN JULY PRIMARY

COUNTY	Per Cent
Anderson	27.9
Angelina	42.8
Austin	36.7
Bailey	41.9
Bastrop	26.3
Bell	41.2
Bexar	55.5
Bowie	31.7
Brazoria	8.1
Brazos	20.4
Burleson	95.8
Caldwell	88.2
Camp	21.5
Cass	41.3
Chambers	29.6
Cherokee	59.0
Collin	59.4
Colorado	48.7
Dallas	47.7
Dawson	61.0
Denton	73.1
Dewitt	41.1
Ector	41.8
Ellis	35.3
El Paso	36.2
Falls	43.9
Fannin	44.6
Fayette	29.6
Fort Bend	41.8
Freestone	51.3
Galveston	27.1
Gonzales	35.0
Grayson	71.7
Gregg	63.2
Grimes	41.8
Guadalupe	53.0
Hardin	48.3
Harris	25.9
Harrison	40.8
Hays	46.5
Henderson	30.7
Hill	69.2
Hopkins	59.3
Houston	41.8

PER CENT OF TOTAL REGISTERED VOTING IN JULY PRIMARY (Continued)

COUNTY	Per Cent
Hunt	25.0
Jackson	32.1
Jasper	22.2
Jefferson	55.4
Johnson	29.1
Jones	37.9
Kaufman	29.0
Lamar	64.5
Lavaca	40.6
Lee	33.1
Leon	79.2
Liberty	27.1
Limestone	28.2
Lubbock	62.9
McLennan	64.4
Madison	27.9
Marion	39.6
Matagorda	39.5
Midland	32.0
Milam	29.6
Montgomery	84.8
Morris	80.4
Nacogdoches	18.1
Navarro	44.1
Newton	84.9
Nueces	58.1
Orange	40.9
Panola	53.2
Polk	27.6
Potter	21.0
Red River	19.9
Robertson	78.2
Rockwell	41.8
Rusk	28.3
Sabine	41.8
San Augustine	33.1
San Jacinto	76.3
Shelby	63.6
Smith	64.8
Tarrant	45.6
Taylor	66.2
Travis	40.3
Trinity	31.5

PER CENT OF TOTAL REGISTERED VOTING IN JULY PRIMARY (Continued)

COUNTY	Per Cent
Upshur	13.8
Victoria	28.6
Walker	85.5
Waller	28.6
Washington	27.3
Wharton	31.8
Wichita	58.5
Williamson	25.3
Total	44.4

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Bee
Town : Temple

Negro teacher, male

In the integrated faculty meeting, held at the beginning of the school year, the Superintendent tells all the teachers they must work in the church and pay their poll tax. There is an integrated in-service workshop every other week. The teachers join hands in making out courses of study for each grade level.

The Ministerial Alliance is an integral part of the Civic League. This League studies the history of every political candidate, what they stand for, and what they are likely to do if office is gained. This record is passed on and presented to the group. The League in turn sees that the information is disseminated to the larger community. Letters are sent out to the parents through the school children, urging parents to pay their poll tax and vote. Although the parents are not urged to vote for any particular candidate, candidates respect this method and solicit the support of the League.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Dallas
Town : Dallas

Executive Secretary of Negro
Chamber of Commerce

There is no evidence of intimidation or economic reprisals against Negroes. A small proportion of the Negro electorate qualify and vote because of " political immaturity." It should be noted that Dallas is the "protest center " of the Southwest. Practically every case against segregation comes from that center or is inspired by legal aid located there. Consequently, Dallas Negroes have unconsciously separated political action from legal action. The spend most of their effort fighting against discrimination by way of legal channels, leaving little effort to be spent by way of the force of the ballot.

More strides have been made toward integrating Negro workers in traditionally non-Negro jobs in Dallas than in any other area in the South. This has not been due to politics, however. It has been due to the courageous efforts of the American Friends Service Committee whose Employment on Merit Program has finally won the heart of Dallas enterprisers, and now has Negroes working in places and jobs considered impossible a few years ago.

FIELD DOCUMENT

Day laborer

County: Ellis
Town : Ennis

Most potential Negro voters are indifferent concerning voting or even paying poll tax. They feel that there is no use to be interested, since no candidate is going to do anything for them anyway.

The school is very poor, giving evidence of corruption in the system. Teachers are said to be chosen by favoritism, and most often teach subjects in which they are ill-prepared. Please note that Texas certification laws tend to make this type of practice very difficult. Interviewee's statement should be weighed with this in mind.

Cotton is the chief crop. White farmers asked the superintendent to delay opening the Negro school for two weeks in order to harvest cotton. This was published in the paper and parents sent a group to the Superintendent to protest. Consequently, there will be no more split-sessions in the County.

Here we find another Voter's League. The ministers are very active in it. Whites approve of the League, and since Negroes started voting in 1947, they try to influence them to vote as they (whites) wish them to. Negroes use the policy of not letting whites know whether or not they have been influenced. They are also alert enough to spot the " tale-bearers " and keep them carrying the type of impression they want to get spread.

The League meets most often around election time. The leader is a Masonic business man. Candidates' platforms and records are presented and discussed and those considered best are endorsed by the League. Those present at the meeting go through a practice or dry-run session of checking ballots.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Falls
Town : Lott

Negro farmer

In this little town of 1,000 population, Negroes compose about one-third. There is one consolidated school, carrying grades one through twelve.

The Voter's League here operates through affiliation with the Voter's League in Marlin, the County seat. In the two years it has been active, there has been a noticeable improvement in interest in voting. Its President is an undertaker, but the Negro ministers in the integrated Minister's Alliance help in urging people to pay Poll Tax and vote. Meetings are held in various churches and often in the funeral chapel of the funeral home.

The Principal of the school urges the teachers to take an active part in the church and to pay their poll tax and vote, but there is no indication of the Superintendent's interest one way or another. Often speakers prominent in politics are brought in the meetings. For an example, Authurine Lucy visited the town and spoke at the high school. This was unusual, since the school is not often used for meetings.

Often, too, those running for office, as in the instance of the Sheriff's office, meet with the people and attempt to influence their voting in their favor. It is a tradition in the County that the Sheriff let all Negroes in jail for a holiday on the 19th of June(Juneteenth), the day marking the emancipation of slaves in Texas. The political power of this gesture is waning rapidly.

FIELD DOCUMENT

Negro County Agent

County: Fort Bend
Town : Richmond

Political efforts of Negroes are beginning to pay off. Many persons interviewed agreed with this. Through the political strength which they have recently shown, pressure was put on for the farmers of the area in order to drain their farms and save their crops. Through the U. S. Congress Small Water Shed Act, Fort Bend farmers are enjoying a huge drainage p roject which will drain 18,000 acres of farm land--all owned by Negroes. This is known as the Turkey Creek Project. Whereas before the project farmers were able to grow 3 bales of cotton on 50 acres, the Project has upped their yield to one bale per acre.

The President of the Fort Bend Civic Club is also President of the NAACP. This Club joins hands with the Houston (Harris County, adjacent) group and examines candidates from all angles of Negro interest. They then call a meeting of the leaders of the County, and decide there which candidate to support. Candidates respect the power of this system and cater to the Club for their support.

After the Jay Bird Case was won, all opposition to the vote of Negroes was dropped. In fact, the Jay Birds are no longer a power in Fort Bend. Their candidates lost in the last Primary.

Cotton mills form the manufacturing base of the County, together with the manufacture of sugar at Sugarland. The former employs a large number of Negroes, and many of these workers earn more than $100 each week. This fits in well with part-time farming. Kendleton, an all Negro community and location for the Turkey Creek Water Shed, is inhabited by land owners. This large cluster of taxable wealth gives to the area a political respect that is not usually found in areas where Negroes are poorer.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Fort Bend
Town : Richmond

Negro teacher, female

The Baptist minister urges people to pay poll tax and vote. The lady undertaker collects and also urges the payment of poll tax.

See other documents about this County.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Freestone
Town : Teague

Negro farmer (large land owner)

Percentage wise, the Negro votes in county, state, and national elections above that of any other group. In local elections, however, other groups out-vote the Negro by 20 per cent.

The problem with most Negro voters stems from the absentee situation. Many of the handicapped people and old people become confused and vote two or three times. Their votes, consequently, are thrown out. On the other hand, some of the become confused to the extent that they do not vote at all. Their vote, therefore, is never counted.

FIELD DOCUMENT

Negro minister

County: Gregg
Town : Kilgore

This is a town of oil wealth, much of which belongs to Negroes. The Voter's League is active, meeting practically every Monday evening during this election season. District meetings, coordinating the work of voters' leagues everywhere in the state, are usually held in Dallas or Tyler.

T. L. Lockhart and Henry Morgan usually help select candidates most favorable to the Negro's interests. This is done through a careful analysis of the candidates' record. Once the candidate pleases, there is a concerted effort made to throw the League weight behind that candidate.

In Liberty City, where oil wells are owned both by whites and Negroes, the wealthy people see that everybody gets to the polls. This applies to Negroes, also.

In the Danville District, poor Precinct, the people are only stirred when school trustees are to be elected. Whites show more interest in this than do Negroes.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Gregg
Lawyer
Town : Longview

"The Negro's voting participation has been very nice in the past three years, and now that more have become acquainted with the voting machine the prediction for the future will be even greater."

Negro civic organizations of Longview are both city and county-wide. These are: Democratic Voter's League, NAACP, American Legion, American Legion Auxialiary (I wonder about these).

The Democratic Voters' League calls special assemblies to acquaint people with use of the voting machine. This organization and the NAACP also furnishes transportation to Negroes who wish to go to the courthouse to vote.

"Fifteen years ago the Negroes organized a Chamber of Commerce which was abolished in 1963." Before being abolished, however, it created a project for a city park, swimming pool, community center and library for Negroes. It took ten years for the organization's plans to materialize, but it finally happened. WHAT THE INTERVIEWEE DID NOT EMPHASIZE IS THAT THESE THINGS WERE ACTUALLY DONE THROUGH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEGRO FARM AGENT, THE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL, AND THE COOPERATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSIONER'S COURT. THESE NEGROES CAN GET ANYTHING THEY WANT. I HAVE BEEN TOLD THIS BY THE MAYOR AND SEVERAL JUDGES. SOMEHOW, THERE IS TREMENDOUS RESPECT FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEGROES, MOST OF WHOM ARE VERY YOUNG AND NOT LONG AGO OUT OF COLLEGE. I HAVE WORKED WITH THEM IN THEIR COMMUNITY PROGRAMS, AND I KNOW THAT THIS IS A LEADERSHIP BASED UPON THE HARD CONTRACTUAL PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL BARGAINING AND COMPROMISE.

The political power of this type of strategy is represented in such facts as the instance in which three new elementary schools have been erected in negro areas during the last three years. Negro delegates sprinkle the county conventions. Negroes serve on juries; there are three Negro policemen in Longview. These achievements are politically inspired.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Harrison
Retired School Teacher, male Town : Marshal

In Harrison County, the heart of East Texas, where Negroes rate over half the population and almost half those of voting age, there is no segregation at precinct boxes. This means that no box is dominantly " Negro," although the Negro population is concentrated residentially. Consequently, whites appoint one white delegate for each 25 Negro votes and present themselves as delegates at the state convention.

There is the report that an old colored man hobbled up to the line to vote. One white official told him to get out, but the Precinct chief, a woman, told this elderly man, " Uncle, you just get in that line and get your name down." The man never got to the voting machine. He just went out thinking that they had made special provisions for him.

A white liberal pledged our interviewer his earnest influence to correct the matter of unjust representation of Negroes in conventions. The white liberals lost an important decision by 3 votes. The victors employed the power of the Negro vote to accomplish the feat.

The trick to evade Negroes at County precinct conventions is best accomplished by procedurals. The paper announces that the convention will occur early after election--so soon after voting that Negroes are not around in large numbers.

FIELD
DOCUMENT

County: Hill
Town : Itaska

The Negroes in this little town take part in the Voter's League in Hillsboro, the county seat. Teachers pay their Poll Tax, but are not enthusiastic about voting.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Hunt
Negro store-keeper
Town : Greenville

The Voter's League has been active for several years. The President is the brother of Attorney Durham, NAACP lawyer of Dallas and an active force in the Sweatt Case.

Meetings of the League are held in churches and lodge halls. The Ministers Alliance is active in urging people from the pulpit to pay poll tax and vote. Many candidates come to the League meetings to solicit the Negro vote.

Teachers help urge people to pay poll tax and vote. They go so far as aiding to transport voters to and from the polls. No pressure is placed upon them in any way. Negroes attend precinct conventions, and many of them are selected as delegates. This is common practice in most Texas cities of 50,000 population or more, but is a bit rare in the small towns. See other documents for further info on this.

Part of the League's meetings is taken up with the presentation of candidates and their platforms. This point marks the beginning of the formation of a hard crust of public opinion in the Negro community concerning the candidates.

Negro housewife

County: Hutchinson
Town : Borger

About one third of the population is Negro, and about three-fourths of these of voting age pay their poll tax. There is no Voter's League but the Principal and all three Negro ministers urge people to pay their tax and vote.

The school is the center of recreation. It is used as a playground for the children; for church; and for entertainments, such as dinners; meetings; money-raising projects; and all community activities.

No pressure is put on the teachers for their political views. Since the area has a farming economy, there is little opportunity for pressure to be applied against jobs because of political leanings.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Jefferson
Town : Beaumont

Negro Physician

There are 59 precincts in Jefferson County, and Negroes participate in the conventions held in 28 of them. Meeting with whites, these Negroes help to decide policy and to select delegates for the County and state conventions. Precincts 18 and 12 are operated by Negroes.

Dr. E. D. Sprott, Earl Redmon. amd O. C. Hebert went to Dallas as delegates to the State Convention. There are four other Negroes who were selected for this Convention.

Political action is headed by a professional group of young people whom others respect and follow. Because of this, Beaumont and Jefferson County Negroes are presenting to statewide candidates an interesting challenge. That the challenge is there is shown by the fact that practical state candidates move through their circles during a campaign.

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Leon
Town : Buffalo

Service station attendant
old citizen of the area.

This County is divided along district lines, preventing any possibility of a " Negro Box " for precinct voting. After voting, the whites return to the courthouse after 7:00 PM to " help count the votes and listen to election returns." They post the results outside the courthouse for colored people.

The interviewee says that his boss tells his Negro employees: " Well, you ought to vote and vote right." The boss moves around the Negro community as a"friend to Negroes."

FIELD DOCUMENT

County: Midland
Negro teacher, female
Town : Midland

The Minister's Alliance urges payment of poll tax, and holds meetings to teach people the mechanics of voting. No stress is laid on political choice.

The meetings are conducted by the Alliance in cooperation with principals and teachers of schools. Meetings are held at the schools and at all the churches except one. Political influence, the interviewee believes, has resulted in the construction of a youth center. This center was built by the citizens and some wealthy white person. The Minister's Alliance helped to furnish it.

Heretofore, Negroes have had only a pool and a few playgrounds, but now a recreation center is being built and will soon be ready for occupancy.

FIELD DOCUMENT

Negr teacher in Public School

County: Navarro
Town : Corsicana

Since the organization of the Voter's League, led by Ben Morgan, there has been an improvement in interest and participation in voting, although teachers take practically no part at all. This is probably because the Principal takes a " stand-off " attitude toward politics, PTA, etc. The teachers do pay their Poll Tax, however, since the Principal mentions that at times.

There is a good community center where many civic activities are held. However, there are no organized activities for the Negro youth.

A Baptist minister has been very progressive and has been practically responsible for all the improvements in political participation and action that have taken place(The interviewee is a member of his Church.) His first achievement, after coming to Corsicana from Waco, was to get contracts for the Negro teachers. He has been a leader in urging them to vote. His most recent achievement was to help influence the city to build a Negro park and playground. Whites respect him very much, and, being independent, he can stand up to them without fear of reprisal.

The interviewee stated that she always voted, but that many of the professional people did not. She also stated that there is a strong feeling against the NAACP, so many teachers are very careful.

FIELD DOCUMENT

Negro teacher, female

County: Shelby
Town : Center

In the first faculty meeting of the year, the Superintendent tells the teachers to pay their poll tax and vote. Later, when the School Board is to be elected, the Principal tells them that the Superintendent said for them to vote for certain Board members to insure his retention as Supt. as has been true for 30 years. Otherwise no voting instructions are given except that they are told to vote the Democratic ticket.

The interviewee stated that she had " heard " that in St. Augustine, a neighboring community, the attitude is quite different--that Negroes are afraid to vote.

Practically all the good solid property holders in Center, interviewee reports, vote regularly. This is important, for there is outstanding in many parts of this County the belief that if one does not pay property tax he cannot vote. The source of this impression begins and ends in the minds of many Shelby County Negroes.

FIELD DOCMUENT

County: Tarrant
Executive Secretary Urban League   City : Fort Worth

There is no evidence of intimidation or economic reprisals in case of Negro voting. She believes that the reason more Negroes do not vote is because of indifference, ignorance, and immaturity. She has found that the more difficult it is to vote, the more Negroes will vote. I find this quite consistent with the protest psychology of the Dallas-FortWorth area.--Not to be able to do it is challenging; to be able to do it, not so challenging.

Just to illustrate how the Negro is withering away his political potential and what the whithering away means: In 1954,one Dr Ransom (M.D.) ran for City Council in Fort Worth. He polled more votes than any other c candidate in the primary. By the way, he was a Negro. In the runoff he lost by about 250 votes. The interviewee holds that the basic reason for his loss is that he appeared on television with his family. YOU SEE, THE POINT WE MAY BE MAKING HERE IS THAT IN THE BIG CITY, PEOPLE DON'T KNOW WHOM THEY ARE VOTING FOR IN TERMS OF RACE. A SMART CAMPAIGN AND GOOD NEGRO SUPPORT WILL WIN FOR A NEGRO CANDIDATE IN HOUSTON, FORT WORTH, DALLAS, OR EVEN GALVESTON.

FIELD DOCUMENT

White minister

County: Waller
Town : Brookshire

The Principal urged teachers and others to pay poll tax and vote. He even collected the tax. The school mimeographed the application blanks. The Principal also spearheaded the plan for transporting Negroes to the polls to vote. In " 53-54 " Negroes won a bond election on 2 votes. They held that type of balance of power. This bond was to be used for a Negro gym and a white cafeteria--all school facilities.

This Principal was fired at the end of the " 55-56 " term. The interviewee thinks this resulted from the Principal's political activities. Also, there was the claim that he never spent his money in the community nor took part in community activities except those political.

County: Waller
Town : Hempstead

A Negro cafe operator

The Superintend here, now no longer employed, very flatly informed all Negro teachers that they were expected to keep Negroes interested in staying in Negro schools. No encouragement or discouragement attempted regarding voting.

At the polls, whites are given instructions as to how to vote--this includes the mechanics of voting--but no instructions are given Negroes.

TEXAS— Continued — 12 TR

Set this

TEXAS

STATISTICAL ESTIMATES OF QUALIFIED NEGRO VOTERS — 10 TR c+sc

8 TR
20 picas

(**Explanation:** Texas has no personal registration for voting, and the closest thing to it is poll tax payment. The poll tax is levied on all between the ages of 21 - 60, with a few classes of people (e.g. some physically disabled) exempted from payment. For these latter persons to vote, they must obtain a Certificate of Exemption; so also must persons over 60 who reside in a city of 10,000 or more population. Persons over 60 living in smaller places need not get a Certificate to vote, if otherwise qualified. The table below, therefore, shows (1) number of poll taxes paid; (2) number of certified, or listed, exempts; (3) number of unlisted exempts, i. e. persons over 60 living in places of less than 10,000 population. Some of this third group, of course, may not realize that they are eligible to vote.

Key to Symbols:

↔ - includes both "poll taxes paid" and "listed exempts"

X - county includes a city of 10,000 or over population

E - estimate of county tax assessor-collector

EE - estimate of SRC consultant)

Operator Note: If this symbol is not available for use on following table - substitute special lino characters

6 pt #55 + 6 pt #53 per <, >

thin #

TEXAS COUNTIES NOT INCLUDED ON BULLOCK REPORT

89

West Texas

9090-9390

	% Non White
Aransas	2.5
Atascasa	1.2
Bee	2.6
Blanco	2.8
Borden	2.3
Basque	3.2
Brown	3.2
Burnet	2.1
Calhoun	7.7
Castro	1.2
Childress	6.9
Cochran	2.8
Coleman	2.6
Collingsworth	7.4
Comal	1.7
Cooke	4.4
Coryell	2.6
Cottle	6.4
Crane	2.6
Crockett	2.7
Crosby	8.7
Delta	10.4
Dickens	5.5
Donley	4.1
Eastland	1.4
Fisher	5.1
Floyd	3.7
Foard	10.3
Franklin	6.8
Gaines	1.3
Garza	3.9
Goliad	10.3
Gray	2.7
Hale	3.8
Hall	9.0
Hardeman	8.0
Haskell	6.6
Hockley	4.6
Howard	3.3
Hutchinson	1.8
Jeff Davis	1.3
Jim Well	1.5
Karnes	3.9
Kendall	1.2
Kent	2.1
Kerr	4.1
King	7.1
Kinney	8.4
Kleberg	3.7
Knox	6.1
Lamb	6.6
Lamposas	2.2
Lynn	5.4
McCullock	3.2
Martin	4.7
Mason	1.4
Medina	1.3

	% Non White
Mitchell	6.3
Motley	6.5
Nolan	4.3
Palo Pinto	3.9
Parker	1.2
Pecos	1.4
Rains	10.0
Reagan	4.5
Reeves	2.4
Refrigco	11.1
Runnels	3.1
San Patricio	2.0
Schleicher	3.5
Scurry	1.5
Shackelford	2.8
Stephens	3.4
Stonewall	2.8
Swisher	1.3
Terry	2.9
Titus	18.5
Tom Green	5.1
Tyler	19.8
Upton	3.7
Uvalde	1.2
Val Verde	2.2
Van Zandt	6.9
Ward	2.4
Wheeler	2.9
Willbarger	8.6
Wilson	2.2
Winkler	1.8
Wood	14.7

How many Negroes of voting age?
How many whites of voting age
How many in total pop' in 1956 of voting age?

1956 State Totals?
What basis in selecting counties?
Basic figs. in his pop. estimates?
Anything else?

1940

	Estimated No. of Voters		No. paid poll tax	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
91. Surry	165	1,100		
92. Sussex	56	1,435		
93. Tazewell	247	7215		
94. Warren	100	2200		
95. Warwick	150	1,800		
96. Washington				
97. Westmoreland.	120	1,000		
98. Wise	23	5041		
99. Wythe	48	4,769		
100. York	70	1,705		
Total	17,191	313,698		
1. Alexandria City	338	7336		
2. Bristol City	65	2,100		
3. Buena Vista	35	625		
4. Charlottesville	255	2300		
5. Clifton Forge	165	1,690		
6. Danville Va.	622	7,171		
7. Fredericksburg	76	1,350		
8. Hampton	150	750		
9. Harrisonburg	179	2411		
10. Hopewell	12	1650		
11. Lynchburg	1,080	11,712		
12. Martinsville	~~885~~			
13. Newport News	885	5773		
14. Norfolk	2981	38,375		
15. Petersburg				
16. Portsmouth	626	5,006		
17. Radford	60	1400		
18. Richmond	5,200	51,933		
19. Roanoke	1,074	17,745		
20. South Norfolk	300	2250		
21. Staunton	93	2,145		
22. Suffolk	111	1,814		
23. Williamsburg	10	606		
24. Winchester	131	4,029		
Total	14,448	170,165		
state Total	31639	483863		

[1] Secured from Office of State Board of

ll tax ite	No. Registered Negro	White	No. of Voting Age Negro	White	No 21 years of Age and over Negro	White	Percent regi pop. of state Negro
					1834	1638	8.99
					3942	2698	1.43
					1657	19473	14.90
					662	6161	15.10
					1377	4167	10.89
					788	19382	
					2170	3056	5.52
					1708	24192	1.34
					758	11393	6.33
					1734	3486	4.03
					226226	832894	
					3463	19049	9.76
					700	5440	9.28
					156	2263	22.43
					2650	10351	9.62
					733	3432	22.51
					6107	14604	10.18
					1099	5599	6.91
					1227	2992	12.22
					473	5352	37.84
					915	4456	1.31
					6274	22487	17.21
					1177	5026	[illegible]
					9560	14716	9.25
					29867	66523	9.98
					8306	11550	
					12086	21159	5.17
					312	3784	19.23
					39542	94057	13.15
					8125	39691	13.21
					938	4014	31.98
					1046	8828	8.89
					2490	5205	4.45
					565	2683	1.76
					665	7498	19.69
					138476	378759	

te Board of Elections, Richmond, Va.), July 6, 1956 by Mr. Woody

					364202	1211653	

Percent registered of total pop. of voting age. Negro	White	Estimate No. of Registered Voters Negro	White	No. Paid Poll tax Negro	White	No 21 years and over Negro	
8.99	67.15	200	1,025	467		1941	1
1.43	53.18	58	1,260	547		4034	2
14.90	37.05	252	7265	179		1667	23
15.10	35.76	184	1,745	146		663	8
10.89	43.19	320	3,200	440		7129	16
		69	6,380	140		741	19
5.52	35.99	130	835	448		2285	3
1.34	20.83	53	7,470	76		1376	28
6.33	41.85	0	4,062	74		633	12
4.03	48.90	155	1,585	374		1699	5
		21324	340912			244689	1076
9.76	38.51	417	14,463			5129	37
9.28	38.60	60	2,550			704	8
22.43	27.61	50	625			148	2
9.62	22.22	420	3575			3079	14
22.51	49.24	160	1975			645	3
10.18	49.10	1307	8155			6517	17
6.91	24.11	200	2100			1224	6
12.22	25.06	350	1400			1644	2
37.84	45.04	180	2545			433	6
1.31	37.02	125	2650			917	5
17.21	52.08	1,140	13,416			6506	25
		260	2750			2825	7
9.25	39.22	1714	6,807			11754	16
9.98	57.68	5412	40,044			42028	9
		734	3642			9399	1
5.17	23.65	1904	6425			19196	31
19.23	36.99	122	1,630			369	5
13.15	55.21	8122	69,490			48257	11
13.[illegible]	47.08	1,575	17,863			9420	5
31.98	56.05	100	2,200			1434	5
8.89	24.29	205	2225			1397	1
4.45	34.85	259	3,092			3004	5
1.76	22.36	134	1,042			569	4
19.69	53.73	144	3,990			722	8
		25,097	213654			7	
						90	
						564	
					Total	177981	509
		46717	554566			422670	1585

1950 Cencus figures

No 21 years of age and over 1947		Percent registered of total population of voting age	
Negro	White	Negro	White
1941	1598	10.30	64.14
4034	2834	1.43	44.46
1667	23244	15.11	31.25
663	8168	27.75	21.36
7129	16646	4.48	19.22
741	19929	9.31	32.01
2285	3644	5.68	22.91
1376	28318	3.85	26.37
633	12526		32.42
1699	5309	9.12	29.86
244689	1076375		
5129	37163	8.13	38.91
704	8843	8.52	28.83
148	2794	33.78	22.36
3079	14763	13.64	24.21
645	3347	24.80	59.00
6517	17024	20.05	47.90
1224	6583	16.33	31.96
1644	2750	21.28	50.96
433	6508	41.57	39.16
917	5547	13.63	47.77
6506	25019	17.52	53.62
2825	7725	9.20	35.59
11754	16324	14.58	41.69
42028	99609	12.87	40.20
9399	14073	7.80	25.87
19196	31827	9.91	20.18
369	5001	33.06	32.59
48257	115245	16.83	60.29
9420	53274	16.71	33.53
1434	5264	6.97	41.79
1397	12615	14.67	17.63
3004	5497	8.62	38.05
569	4041	24.07	25.78
722	8776	19.94	45.46
7			
90			
564			
177981	509612		
422670	1585987		

COUNTY	Estimated No. of registered Voters		No paid Poll tax	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
45. Henry	125	5,300		
46. Highland	17	1,359		
47. Isle of Wight	185	2,025		
48. James City	25	1,000		
49. King and Queen				
50. King George	225	875		
51. King William	153	930		
52. Lancaster	188	1,135		
53. Lee	275	4,730	last Aug. primary 1939	
54. Loudoun	—			
55. Louisa	312	1,906		
56. Lunenburg	225	1775		
57. Madison	170	1,500		
58. Mathews	120	1,575		
59. Mecklenburg	255	3,265		
60. Middlesex	175	1,050		
61. Montgomery	313	5,270		
62. Nansemond	85	1,945		
63. Nelson	121	1,719		
64. New Kent	161	554		
65. Norfolk	1,395	14,600		
66. Northampton	250	1,950		
67. Northumberland	195	1,560		
68. Nottoway	107	2,565		
69. Orange	180	2,275		
70. Page	85	4,375		
71. Patrick	9	1,945		
72. Pittsylvania	50	5,535		
73. Powhatan	110	735		
74. Prince Edward	385	1,950		
75. Prince George	45	1,230		
76. Prince William	151	2,000		
77. Princess Anne	—	3,975		
78. Pulaski	215	4,410		
79. Rappahannock	145	2,400		
80. Richmond	163	1164		
81. Roanoke	262	6,373		
82. Rockbridge	480	3845		
83. Rockingham	70	7550		
84. Russell	97	6587		
85. Scott	—	7156		
86. Shenandoah	65	5000		
87. Smyth	54	6614		
88. Southampton	74	2570		
89. Spotsylvania	275	2100		
90. Stafford	245	2075		

1940

No. Registered		No. of Voting Age		No 21 years of age and over		Percent reg populati ag
Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
				3343	10037	3.73
				49	2689	34.69
				3382	3980	5.47
				1157	1900	2.16
				1759	1949	
				907	2251	24.86
				1989	2518	7.69
				2059	3134	9.13
				391	18474	70.33
				2188	9739	
				2772	4838	11.25
				2755	4604	8.16
				1145	3686	14.84
				1089	3749	11.01
				7119	8990	3.58
				1509	2468	11.59
				911	11012	34.35
				7983	4533	1.06
				2016	6451	6.06
				1207	1088	13.37
				6624	14524	21.65
				4896	5418	5.10
				2159	3860	9.03
				3584	5228	2.98
				1830	5471	9.83
				350	8018	24.28
				624	7667	1.44
				8226	22863	.60
				1372	1758	8.01
				3482	4788	11.05
				2551	4630	1.76
				1445	9256	10.44
				4087	7826	
				1133	11307	18.97
				810	3076	17.90
				1241	2462	8.29
				2100	23534	12.47
				1350	11264	35.55
				540	17537	13.88
				352	12511	27.55
				204	13704	
				191	12384	34.03
				321	15116	16.82
				7660	6272	.96
				1449	4096	18.97
				730	5835	33.56

164 77

Percent registered of total population of voting age		Estimate No. of registered Voters		No. paid Poll tax		No. 21 years of a and over	
Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
3.73	52.80	not reported		617		3474	133
34.69	50.53	14	1236	18		103	23
5.47	51.00	275	2300	677		3957	45
2.16	52.63	287	729	292		1590	22
		195	470	365		1795	18
24.86	38.87	225	875	320		987	304
7.69	36.93	165	845	418		1888	261
9.13	36.21	235	1,125	468		2015	33
70.33	52.23	51	9900	87		257	181
	48.56	—	2,142	458		2098	104
11.25	39.37	312	1,951	451		2602	49
8.16	38.55	242	1,710	413		2965	50
14.84	40.69	197	1,325	192		976	38
11.01	42.01	170	1,475	237		1139	39
3.58	36.31	211	1,690	1,561		7655	104
11.59	42.54	225	1,050	312		1568	26
34.35	47.85	595	6075	212		959	166
1.06	42.90	483	1,770	1,922		8931	54
6.06	26.64	123	1,824	346		1882	61
13.37	50.91	274	1,080	329		1156	11
21.65		820	14,050	499		8898	48
5.10	35.99	270	1,260	477		5105	56
9.03	40.41	195	1,560	651		2118	40
2.98	49.06	213	2675	478		3607	56
9.83	41.58	210	2,275	346		1791	59
24.28	54.56	90	6075	148		313	86
1.44	25.36	30	3,825	125		626	77
.60	24.20	not reported		716		9271	26
8.01	41.80	180	105	249		1349	17
11.05	40.72	575	1,950	579		3468	52
1.76	26.56	85	1,160	223		3129	81
10.44	21.66	154	2,045	214		5724	119
	50.79	200	5525	206		1524	20
18.97	39.00	215	4,000	160		1165	145
17.90	78.02	200	2,550	196		617	28
8.29	47.27	234	1,161	187		1077	26
12.47	27.07	395	8,425	299		2321	23
35.55	34.13	480	3,705	167		1211	123
13.88	43.05	138	7,705	24		409	20
27.55	52.64	42	5,900	64		370	133
	52.21	12	7110	31		187	148
34.03	40.37	95	7155	53		231	129
16.82	43.73	51	6,660	95		289	167
.96	40.97	200	2,481	962		7972	66
18.97	51.26	250	2,265	287		1470	54
33.56	35.56	190	2,100	136		800	62

1950 Census figures

Percent registered of total population of voting age

years of age ale White	Negro	White
13383		
2394	13.59	51.62
4520	6.94	50.88
2247	18.05	32.44
1837	10.86	25.58
3042	22.79	28.76
2612	8.73	32.35
3361	11.66	47.64
18139	22.17	54.57
10429		20.53
4919	11.99	39.66
5010	8.33	34.13
3865	20.18	34.28
3912	14.92	37.70
10479	2.75	16.12
2675	14.34	39.25
16609	2.04	36.57
5441	5.40	32.53
6145	6.53	29.68
1159	23.80	93.18
48670	9.21	28.86
5688	5.28	22.15
4038	9.20	38.63
5665	5.90	47.21
5978	11.72	38.05
8698	28.75	69.84
7711	4.79	36.63
26440		
1783		
5238	16.58	37.22
8148	2.71	14.23
11945	2.69	17.12
20306	13.12	27.20
14549	18.45	27.49
2876	32.41	88.66
2642	21.72	43.94
23715	17.01	35.52
12349	39.63	31.62
20265	33.74	38.02
13384	11.35	44.08
14861	6.41	47.84
12900	41.12	
16710	17.64	
6661	2.50	37.24
5453	17.00	41.53
6229	23.75	33.71

1950

Required by Section 24-25
March 15

COUNTY	Estimated No. of Voters Negro	White	No. Paid Poll Tax Negro	White
STATE TOTAL:				
1. Accomac	147	3760		
2. Albemarle	123	2705		
3. Alleghany	516	4160		
4. Amelia	27	1095		
5. Amherst	272	3326		
6. Appomattox	17	2525		
7. Arlington	468	9297		
8. Augusta	248	6882		
9. Bath	79	1978		
10. Bedford	432	6927		
11. Bland				
12. Botetourt	—	24,9 actual vote cast Nov. 1939		
13. Brunswick	158	1650		
14. Buchanan	0	8000		
15. Buckingham	36	730		
16. Campbell	890	4350		
17. Caroline	255	1695		
18. Carroll	20	5981		
19. Charles City	95	510		
20. Charlotte	147	2350		
21. Chesterfield	495	5465		
22. Clarke	146	1627		
23. Craig	0	1233		
24. Culpeper	190	2050		
25. Cumberland	33	1000		
26. Dickenson	40	7144		
27. Dinwiddie	93	2000		
28. Elizabeth City	429	3850		
29. Essex	28	523		
30. Fairfax	487	7731		
31. Fauquier	345	2440		
32. Floyd	61	2135		
33. Fluvanna	58	1060		
34. Franklin				
35. Frederick	19	2892		
36. Giles	140	3585		
37. Gloucester	198	2062		
38. Goochland	381	1331		
39. Grayson	22	6303		
40. Green				
41. Greensville	70	1450		
42. Halifax	333	4500		
43. Hanover	105	1330		
44. Henrico	435	9181		

1950 Va. Code

15

1940-1

ax ite	No. Registered		No. of Voting Age		No. 21 years of Age		Percent registe of voting
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
					6528	13954	2.25
					3034	10692	4.05
					1199	11581	43.03
					2165	2335	1.24
					2954	8206	9.20
					1224	3809	1.38
					3313	36373	14.12
					1,814	23004	13.67
					576	3536	13.71
					3353	13652	12.88
					58	3511	
					1078	8136	
					4791	4908	3.29
					7	13384	
					2689	4214	1.33
					3241	10781	27.46
					3294	4106	6.83
					171	13301	11.69
					1567	621	6.06
					3008	5084	4.88
					3458	15551	14.31
					803	3523	18.18
					34	2118	
					2139	5661	8.88
					2052	1887	1.60
					332	8972	12.04
					1279	3866	1.27
					4442	16964	9.45
					1869	2066	1.49
					4427	21460	11.06
					3185	8886	10.83
					251	6321	24.30
					1336	2666	4.34
					1768	11656	
					215	7829	8.83
					299	7581	46.82
					1860	3868	10.64
					2276	2533	16.78
					404	11493	5.44
					439	2298	
					4025	3487	1.73
					8496	12712	3.91
					3107	7478	3.37
					4038	22903	10.77

1944 ?

cent registered of voting age	of total pop.	Estimate No. of Registered Voters		No. Paid Poll tax		No. 21 years of age and over	
Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
		1					
2.25	26.94	147	3,750	362		6591	15382
4.05	25.29	175	2,795	513		2840	13385
43.03	35.92	454	3,775	261		1193	12528
1.24	46.89	120	1,150	414		1999	2390
9.20	40.53	426	3385	403		2854	9009
1.38	66.29	38	2,185	77		1107	3993
14.12	25.56	712	21,376	862		4248	87177
13.67	29.91	145	6,665	218		956	18925
13.71	55.93	68	1,473	72		480	3283
12.88	50.73	0	38 see comment	589		2916	14482
		6	1,545	8		79	3551
	29.73	–	2,691	103		891	8369
3.29	33.61	290	2,450	788		5563	5156
	59.77	0	8000	0		6	15744
1.33	17.32	93	825	408		2493	4124
27.46	40.34	835	4,400	572		3357	13307
6.83	41.34	327	2,285	644		3086	3848
11.69	45.65	12	6,125	18		200	14551
6.06	82.12	190	410	286		1930	606
4.88	46.22	1,040	1,390	758		2702	5034
14.31	35.14	550	5,110	747		4489	20025
18.18	46.18	269	1,455	156		746	3620
	58.21	3	1,300	5		13	2060
8.88	36.21	165	2,275	219		1907	6169
1.60	52.99	75	980	350		1996	1953
12.04	79.62	—	9,200	42		163	10507
1.27	51.73	154	2,445	671		7879	4169
9.45	22.69	650	5,050	712		6973	27514
1.49	25.31	53	900	492		1594	2263
11.06	36.02	727	12,258	676		6563	52907
10.83	27.47	197	2,185	459		2912	9638
24.36	33.77	56	1,227	42		236	6256
4.34	39.75	173	1,119	263		1301	3028
		141	4450	230		1750	11801
8.83	36.93	48	3,700	32		214	10051
46.82	47.28	155	3625	23		265	10338
10.64	53.30	389	2,275	516		1960	4588
16.78	52.54	423	1,465	455		2515	2968
5.44	54.84	26	7390	28		462	12010
		59	1,700	73		357	2184
1.73	41.58	105	1,600	311		4506	4058
3.91	35.39	401	4,800	22,110		8675	13952
3.37	17.78	134	1,900	443		3388	9715
10.77	40.08	361	7974	553		3253	33337

1950 Census figures

1947

of age	Percent registered of total population of voting age	
white	Negro	white
15382	31.40	24.37
13385	6.16	22.22
12528	38.05	30.10
2390	6.00	48.11
9069	14.92	37.57
3993	3.43	54.72
87177	16.76	24.52
18925	15.16	35.21
3283	14.16	44.86
14482		
3551	7.59	43.50
8369		32.15
5156	5.26	47.51
15744		
4124	3.73	20.00
13307	24.87	33.06
3848	10.59	59.38
14551	6.00	42.09
606	9.84	67.65
5034	38.49	27.61
20025	12.25	25.51
3620	36.05	40.19
2060	23.07	63.10
6169	8.65	36.87
1953	3.75	50.17
10507		87.56
4169	1.95	58.64
27514	9.32	18.38
2263	3.32	40.85
52907	11.07	23.16
9638	6.76	22.67
6256	23.72	19.63
3028	13.29	36.95
11801	8.05	37.70
10051	22.42	36.81
10338	58.49	35.06
4588	19.74	49.58
2968	16.81	49.35
12010	5.62	61.53
2186	16.52	77.76
4058	2.33	39.42
13952	4.62	34.40
9715	3.95	19.55
33337	11.09	23.91

(Census)
1950

VIRGINIA

County	1956 Registration		Persons 21 years & over	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
Accomac	220	5,900	6,591	15,382
Albemarle	350	3,725	2,840	13,385
Alleghany	168	2,000	1,193	12,528
Amelia	555	2,484	1,999	2,390
Amherst	546	3,612	2,854	9,009
Appomattox	202	2,400	1,107	3,993
Arlington	1185	38,528	4,284	87,177
Augusta	179	7,930	956	18,925
Bath	21	1,838	480	3,283
Bedford	1066	6,265	2,916	14,482
Bland	12	2,130	78	3,551
Botetourt		3,840	891	8,369
Brunswick	705	3,215	5,503	5,156
Buchanan		11,625	6	15,744
Buckingham	290	1,400	2,493	4,124
Campbell	955	4,764	3,357	13,307
Carolin	406	1,774	3,086	3,848
Carroll	11	6,445	200	14,551
Charles City	704	549	1,930	606
Charlotte	284	3,296	2,702	5,034
Chesterfield	1150	9,125	4,489	20,025
Clarke	255	2,035	746	3,620
Craig		1,175	13	2,060
Culpeper	452	2,777	1,907	6,169
Cumberland	340	1,450	1,996	1,953
Dickenson	57	10,044	163	10,507
Dinwiddie	395	2,321	7,879	4,169
Elizabeth City	Included with Hampton		6,973	27,514
Essex	126	974	1,594	2,203
Fairfax	1115	36,983	6,563	52,907
Fauquier	106	2,564	2,913	9,638
Floyd	104	4,132	236	6,250
Fluvanna	82	808	1,301	3,028
Franklin	307	4,242	1,750	11,801
Frederick	48	4,580	214	10,051
Giles	140	4,375	265	10,338
Gloucester	513	2,562	1,960	4,588
Goochland	657	1,840	2,515	2,968
Grayson	53	7,075	462	12,010
Green	87	1,500	357	2,186
Greensville	790	2,750	4,506	4,058
Halifax	521	5,570	8,675	13,952
Hanover	764	5,086	3,388	9,715
Henrico	814	25,151	3,253	33,337

Column disagrees with
X Voter report –

VIRGINIA

COUNTY	1956 REGISTRATION NEGRO	1956 REGISTRATION WHITE	PERSONS 21 YEARS AND OVER NEGRO	PERSONS 21 YEARS AND OVER WHITE
Henry	288	4240	3474	13383
Highland	15	1206	103	2394
Isle of Wight	670	2730	3957	4520
James City	342	969	1590	2247
King and Queen	300	530	1795	1837
King George	300	1100	987	3042
King William	~~135~~ 260	~~850~~ 1146	1888	2612
Lancaster	~~485~~ 415	~~1385~~ 1160	2015	2361
Lee	116	11761	257	18139
Loudoun	336	6560	2098	10429
Louisa	337	1946	2602	4919
Lunenburg	625	1985	2905	5010
Madison	120	1595	976	3865
Mathews	80	1200	1139	3912
Mecklenburg	452	3365	7655	10479
Middlesex	175	1065	1568	2675
Montgomery	460	6315	959	16609
Nansemond	570	2135	8931	5441
Nelson	108	1674	1882	6145
New Kent	175	510	1150	1159
Norfolk	4950	10950	8898	48670
Northampton	665	1975	5105	5688
Northumberland	195	1560	2118	4038
Nottoway	380	2410	3607	5665
Orange	270	2450	1791	5978
Page	110	5400	313	8698
Patrick	30	2975	626	7711
Pittsylvania	403	6175	9271	26440
Powhatan	248	2737	1349	1783
Prince Edward	825	2000	3468	5238
Prince George	95	2750	3129	8148
Prince William	235	12208	5724	11945
Princess Anne	~~1665~~ 1414	~~10730~~ 12353	1524	20306
Pulaski	310	4550	1165	14549
Rappahannock	275	2300	617	2876
Richmond	180	875	1077	2642
Roanoke	579	8100	2321	23715
Rockbridge	480	3295	1211	12349
Rockingham	78	7780	409	20265
Russell	69	7364	370	13384
Scott	45	9900	187	14861
Shenandoah	80	6235	231	12900
Smyth	78	6685	289	16710
Southampton	460	2525	7972	6661
Spotsylvania	490	2295	1470	5453
Stafford	340	2500	800	6229

(april, 1958
Justice Dept. request –
White figures taken
from yellow sheet)

VIRGINIA

COUNTY	1956 REGISTRATION NEGRO	1956 REGISTRATION WHITE	PERSONS 21 YEARS AND OVER NEGRO	PERSONS 21 YEARS AND OVER WHITE
Surry	310	1185	1941	1598
Sussex	540	2165	4034	2834
Tazewell	267	6955	1667	23244
Warren	137	3515	663	8168
~~[illegible]~~				
Washington	148	7799	741	19927
Westmoreland	331	2891	2285	3644
Wise	207	8190	1376	28318
Wythe	169	8984	663	12526
York	607	2700	1699	5309
INDEPENDENT CITIES				
Virginia Beach City '54	100	2800		
Warwick '54	868	8152	7129	16646
Alexandria City	1640	23860	5129	37163
Bristol City	110	3900	704	8843
Buena Vista	29	1000	148	2794
Charlottesville	2110	~~16444~~ [8222]	3079	14763
Clifton Forge	171	1950	645	3347
Danville	1448	9696	6517	17024
Fredricksburg	357	3900	1224	6583
Hampton	2087	13011	1644	2750
Harrisonburg	185	3050	433	6508
Hopewell	350	3650	917	5547
Lynchburg	2506	16968	6506	25019
Martinsville	352	3075	2825	7725
Newport News	3341	7939	11754	16324
Norfolk	9328	57094	42028	99609
Petersburg	1407	4797	9399	14073
Portsmouth	3444	10682	19196	31827
Redfard	144	2679	369	5001
Richmond	11569	52850	48257	115245
Roanoke	2408	28918	9420	53274
South Norfolk	868	4061	1434	5264
Staunton	285	3582	1397	12615
Suffolk	476	2630	3004	5497
Williamsburg	93	1126	569	4041
Winchester	91	1996	722	8776
Galax '54	15	1450		
Colonial Hights		2000	7	4178
Chesterfild Court House				
Fall Church	42	2783	90	4581
Wagnesboro	130	3477	564	7111
Covington '52	310	2600		
Norton '54	135	1270		

	Estimate No. of Registered Voters Negro	White	No. Paid Poll tax Negro	White
91. Surry	275	900	409	
92. Sussex	285	1485	1,040	
93. Tazewell	252	7365	206	
94. Warren	—	2241	165	
95. Warwick	860	4,950		
96. Washington	127	7252	93	
97. Westmoreland.	148	1547	518	
98. Wise	118	10,061	256	
99. Wythe	145	14965	128	
100. York	444	2758	~~450~~	
Total - Counties	36,242	413,059	48561	
Va. Beach City '54				
1 Warwick City '54				
1. Alexandria City	359	17,458	1053	
2. Bristol City	80	3,850	110	
3. Buena Vista	30	896	37	
4. Charlottesville	909	6,461	737	
5. Clifton Forge	195	1,660	192	
6. Danville	1,833	10,434	1115	
7. Fredricksburg	290	2,450	230	
8. Hampton	300	1200	1293	
9. Harrisonburg	180	2,800	114	
10. Hopewell	325	3,700	313	
11. Lynchburg	2,100	18,480	1786	
12. Martinsville	489	3,058	411	
13. Newport News	2,585	7,577	3324	
14. Norfolk	6,993	41,906	5944	
15. Petersburg	859	4,304	1145	
16. Portsmouth	2,351	7,366	2234	
17. Radford	108	2,580	110	
18. Richmond	8,237	48,380	10033	
19. Roanoke	2,013	23,327	2510	
20. South Norfolk	950	4,500	753	
21. Staunton	340	2,580	266	
22. Suffolk	427	3,657	494	
23. Williamsburg	164	1,193	181	
24. Winchester	179	5,291	71	
25. Galax '54				
Colonial Heights				
Chesterfield Court House	50	1200		
Fall Church	89	2328	30	
Waynesboro	152	3320	77	
Covington '52 Total cities →	33,084	230,950		
Norton '54 state total	69326	644009		

1952

No. Registered		No. of Voting Age		No. 21 years of age and over		Percent regi pop. of Vot
Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
				1941	1598	14.16
				4034	2834	7.06
				1667	23244	15.11
				663	8168	
				7129	16646	12.06
				741	19927	17.13
				2285	3644	6.47
				1376	28318	8.57
				633	12526	22.90
				1699	5309	26.13
				244689	1076375	
				5129	37163	6.99
				704	8843	11.36
				148	2794	20.27
				3079	14763	29.52
				645	3347	30.23
				6517	17024	28.12
				1224	6583	23.69
				~~1644~~	~~2750~~ 30	18.24
				433	6508	41.57
				917	5547	35.44
				6506	25019	32.27
				2825	7725	17.30
				11754	16324	21.96
				42028	99609	16.63
				9399	14073	9.13
				19196	31827	12.27
				369	5001	29.26
				48257	115245	18.10
				9420	53274	21.36
				1434	5264	66.24
				1397	12615	24.33
				3004	5497	14.21
				569	4041	28.82
				722	4776	
				7	4178	
				90	4581	98.88
				564	7111	26.95
			Stat total	422670	State Total 2024527	
			Total Cities	177981	525482	

t registered of voting	of total Age.	A Estimate No. of Registered Voters	B	No. paid poll tax		No. 21 years of age and over	
o	White	Negro	White	Negro Total	White	Negro	White
14.16	56.32	310	1,185	1495		1941	1598
7.06	52.39	540	2,165	2705		4034	2834
15.11	31.68	267	6955	7222		1667	23244
	27.43	137	3,515	3652		663	8168
12.06	29.73	may a cut				7129	16646
17.13	36.39	148	7799	7947		741	19927
6.47	42.45	331	2891	3222		2285	3644
8.57	35.52	207	8190	8397		1376	28318
22.90		169	8984	9153		663	12526
26.13	51.94	607	2,700	3307		1699	5309
		~~37329~~ 38,532	~~487510~~ 489,845	528377		244689	1076375
		100	2,800	2900			
		868	8152	9020		7129	16646
6.99	46.97	1,640	23860	25500		5129	37163
11.36	43.53	116	3900	4010		704	8843
20.27	32.06	29	1000	1029		148	2794
29.52	43.76	~~2110~~ 1054	~~16,444~~ 8222	18554		3079	14763
30.23	49.59	171	1,450	2121		645	3347
28.12	61.28	1,448	9,696	11144		6517	17024
23.69	37.21	357	3,900	4257		1224	6583
18.24	43.63	2087	13,011	15098		8617 ~~7644~~	~~2750~~ 30,
41.57	43.02	185	3,050	3235		433	6508
35.44	66.70	350	3,650	4000		917	5547
32.27	73.86	2,506	16,968	19474		6506	25019
17.30	39.58	352	3,075	3427		2825	7725
21.96	46.41	3,341	7939	11280		11754	16324
16.63	45.08	9,328	57,094	66422		42028	99609
9.13	30.58	1,407	4,797	6204		9399	14073
2.27	23.14	3,444	10,682	14126		19196	31827
29.26	51.58	144	2,679	2823		369	5001
18.10	41.98	11,569	52,850	64419		48257	115245
21.36	43.79	2408	28,918	31326		9420	53274
66.24	85.48	868	4061	4929		1434	5264
24.33	20.45	285	3,582	3867		1397	12615
14.21	48.33	476	2630	3106		3004	5497
8.82	29.52	93	1126	1219		569	4041
	66.28	91	3,996	4087		722	8776
		15	1,450	1465		—	
		—	2,000	2000		7	4178
8.88	50.81	42	2,783	2825		90	4581
26.95	46.68	130	3477	3607		564	7111
	State total (Negro)	310	2,600	2910			
84,931 ~~83786~~		135	1,270	1,405		State total 432670	~~826~~ total 1601857
		Total 46399	Total 305390	~~795235~~ State total (White) 795,235		177981	525482

1956 LC

g age		Percent registered of total pop. of voting age. Negro	White						
hite									
598		15.97	74.15	996		8.9	36.61	63.71	63.8
934		13.38	76.39	923		11.4	53.78	65.60	65.6
244		16.01	29.92	1810		10.1	....	6.42	6.1
168		20.66	43.03	...		4.7	21.42	6.86	8.0
646				1,717		4.0	....	81.66	
927		19.97	39.13	....		13.6	12.50	2.17	3.2
644		14.48	79.33	767		5.0	12.95	45.47	45.5
818		15.04	28.92	1,632		12.7	....	3.35	4.2
526		26.69	71.72	....		9.5	5.26	3.32	4.7
309		22.48	50.85	1,765		4.6	....	26.17	26.2
375									
46		12.2	48.1						
63		31.97	64.20	1,916	(7,666)	12.40			12.4
43		15.62	44.10	....	(1,125)	7.05			7.1
94		19.59	35.79	....	(99)	1.89			4.2
63		34.2 ~~[illegible]~~	55.7	1,303	(4720)	18.17			18.2
47		26.51	58.26	...	(491)	8.47			18.1
24		22.21	56.95	1,356	(10,583)	30.18			30.2
53		29.16	59.24	1,220	(1,959)	16.11			16.1
50	30,264	~~26.94~~ 24.2	~~71.10~~ 43.0	1,157	(1,022)	17.13			21.9
08		42.72	46.86	....	(684)	6.32			6.3
47		38.16	65.86	1,540	(1,517)	14.84			14.8
19		38.51	67.82	1,220	(10,480)	21.95			22.0
25		12.46	39.80	1,745	(5,046)	29.25			29.3
24		28.42	48.63	1,469	(18,300)	43.20			43.2
09		22.19	57.31	1,398	(63,448)	29.71			29.7
73		14.96	34.08	1,396	(14,802)	42.22			42.2
27		17.94	33.56	1,613	(30,729)	38.39			38.4
01		39.02	53.56	....	(308)	3.41			7.0
45		23.97	45.85	1,565	(73,082)	31.73			31.7
74		25.56	54.28	1,662	(14,592)	15.87			15.9
64		60.52	77.14	1,106	(2,398)	22.98			23.0
15		20.40	28.39	1,423	(2,167)	10.87			10.9
7		15.84	47.84	1,272	(4,526)	36.68			36.7
41		16.34	27.86	....	(431)	6.39			13.0
76		12.60	45.53	....	(1,152)	8.32			8.3
					(144)	2.74			
78				...	(3)	.04			
31		4666		...	(53)	.70			1.8
11		23.04		...	(1,009)	8.16			8.2
57					(443)	7.55			
82					(174)	4.03			

	1940 Estimated No. of Registered Voters	1947 Estimated no. of Registered Voters	1952 Estimated No. of Registered Voters	1956 Estimated no of Registered Votes	
Cities:					
White	159,972	213,654	230,950	~~305,390~~	2
Colored	14,358	86,465	33,084	~~46,399~~	4
Total	174,330	300,119	264,034	~~351,789~~	34
Counties:					
White	315,720	355,342	413,059	~~496,161~~	4
Colored	18,106	21,614	35,980	~~37,665~~	3
Total	333,826	376,956	449,039	533,826	53
Combined Total	508,156	677,075	713,073		
		Counties not reported Henry Pittsylvania		Prince Wm. unreported	

1) Data secured by Mr. Woody from
2) " " " Dr. Roberts "

56
d reg
d Voters

90	297,168	Revised due to a few counties late reports or amended reports.
99	45,343	
89	342,511	
61	495,161	
65	37,755	
26	532,916	

Reports are supposed to be sent to the State Office in April.

ce
n.
orted Grand total 875,427

Many registrations have taken place since counties & cities reported.

y from the State Board of Elections, Richmond, Va. July 6, 1956
" " " " " " " " July 9, 1956

5] 1950 *United States Census of Population, Virginia*
General characteristics, (P-B46) PP. 60-61, 64-67.

2] 1950 United States Census of Population, Virginia,
General Characteristics P- B46 P. 131-132
3] Taken literary chart
4] Table 23

1952

COUNTY	Estimated No. of Registered Voters		No. Paid Poll tax	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
	checked	checked	checked	
STATE TOTAL:				
1. Accomac	147	3760	734	
2. Albemarle	435	3,485	468	
3. Alleghany	436	4,055	346	
4. Amelia	320	1,225	553	
5. Amherst	408	3,006	718	
6. Appomattox	50	2,210	90	
7. Arlington	939	24,219	1,248	
8. Augusta	141	6,199	106	
9. Bath	59	1,738	92	
10. Bedford	564	4,576	974	
11. Bland	12	1,784	13	
12. Botetourt	—	3760	100	
13. Brunswick	850	2,475	1,098	
14. Buchanan	0	9,415	0	
15. Buckingham	250	1,015	507	
16. Campbell	210	2,469	1,073	
17. Caroline	281	1,465	883	
18. Carroll	31	6,429	29	
19. Charles City	495	615	529	
20. Charlotte	338	3,350	786	
21. Chesterfield	985	6,975	1141	
22. Clarke	210	1,840	101	
23. Craig	—	1,225	0	
24. Culpeper	403	2,750	325	
25. Cumberland	695	1,250	382	
26. Dickenson	18	9,150	14	
27. Dinwiddie	286	2,472	1090	
28. Elizabeth City	650	6,250		
29. Essex	300	960	619	
30. Fairfax	1083	19,377	639	
31. Fauquier	107	2564	463	
32. Floyd	50	2,345	54	
33. Fluvanna	92	854	289	
34. Franklin	315	3,073	338	
35. Frederick	46	3975	38	
36. Giles	125	3990	20	
37. Gloucester	460	2,302	517	
38. Goochland	337	1,338	769	
39. Grayson	55	8,615	82	
40. Green	55	1250	66	
41. Greensville	595	1,730	937	
42. Halifax	444	4,740	2,325	
43. Hanover	212	2620	546	
44. Henrico	475	12,793	514	

No. Registered		No. Voting		No 21 years of age and over		Percent registered total population of voting age	
Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
				Checked	Checked		
				6591	15382	2.23	24.44
				2840	13385	15.31	26.03
				1193	12528	36.54	32.36
				1199	2390	26.68	51.25
				2854	9009	14.29	33.36
				1107	3993	4.51	55.34
				4248	87177	22.10	27.78
				956	18925	14.74	32.75
				480	3283	12.29	52.93
				2916	14482	19.34	31.59
				76	3551	15.18	50.23
				891	8369		44.92
				5503	5156	15.44	48.00
				6	15744		59.80
				2493	4124	10.02	24.61
				3357	13307	6.25	18.55
				3086	3848	9.10	38.07
				206	14551	15.50	44.18
				1930	606	25.64	
				2702	5034	12.50	66.54
				4489	20625	21.94	34.83
				746	3626	28.15	50.82
				13	2060		59.46
				1907	6169	21.13	44.57
				1996	1953	34.81	64.00
				163	16507	11.04	87.08
				7879	4169	3.62	57.29
				6973	27464	9.32	22.75
				1594	2203	18.82	42.57
				6563	52907	16.50	36.62
				2912	9638	3.67	26.60
				236	6250	21.18	37.52
				1301	3028	7.07	28.20
				1750	11801	18.08	26.04
				214	10051	21.49	39.54
				265	10338	47.16	38.59
				1960	4588	23.46	50.17
				2515	2968	13.39	45.08
				462	12010	11.90	71.73
				357	2186	15.40	57.18
				4506	4058	13.20	42.63
				8675	13952	5.11	33.97
				3388	9715	6.25	26.96
				3253	[illegible]	14.60	38.37

A B 1956

gistered 8 pulation age	Estimate No. of Registered Voters		No. Paid	poll tax	No 21 yrs. of age and ~~No. Registered~~	
White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
	Checked	Checked			Checked	Checked
	1952 Negro Reg.		Total		1950 Non-white Pop	
24.44	220	5,900	6120		6591	15382
26.03	350	3,725	4075		2840	13385
32.36	168	2,000	2168		1193	12528
51.25	555	2,484	3039		1999	2390
33.36	546	3,612	4158		2854	9009
55.34	202	2,400	2602		1107	3993
27.78	1185	38,528	39713		4248	87177
32.75	179	7,930	8109		956	18925
52.93	21	1,838	1859		480	3283
31.59	1,066	6,265	7331		2916	14482
50.23	12	2,130	2142		79	3551
44.92	—	3,840	3840		891	8369
48.00	705	3,215	3920		5563	5156
59.80	—	11,625	11625		6	15744
24.61	290	1,400	1690		2493	4124
18.55	955	4,764	5719		3357	13307
38.07	406	1,774	2180		3086	3848
44.18	11	6,445	6456		200	14551
	704	549	1253		1930	606
66.54	284	3,296	3580		2702	5034
34.83	1,150	9,125	10275		4489	20025
50.82	255	2,035	2290		746	3620
59.46	—	1,175	1175		13	2060
44.57	452	2,777	3229		1907	6169
64.00	340	1,450	1790		1996	1953
87.08	57	10,044	10101		163	10507
59.29	395	2,321	2716		7879	4169
22.75	Included with Hampton				6973	27514
42.57	126	947	1073		1594	2203
36.62	1,115	36,983	38098		6563	52907
26.60	106	2,564	2670		2913	9638
37.52	104	4,132	4236		236	6250
28.20	82	808	890		1301	3028
26.04	✓ 307	4,242	4549		1750	11801
39.54	48	4,580	4628		214	10051
38.59	140	4,375	4515		265	10338
50.17	513	2,562	3075		1960	4588
45.08	657	1,840	2497		2515	2968
71.73	53	7,075	7128		462	12010
57.18	87	1,500	1587		357	2186
42.63	790	2,750	3540		4506	4058
33.97	521	5,570	6091		8675	13952
26.96	764	5,086	5850		3388	9715
38.37	814	25,151	25965		3253	33337

Age and over 1956 Indian hito ecked	C Percent registered of Total population of Voting Age ~~No.~~ of Voting Age Negro	D White	1950 Income in 1949 of non-white families + un-related individuals median Income Dollars	% of No Sch. years completed 25 years and older 37 1950	% of 1950 tract of non-white farm operators	% Negro rural of total rural population 1958
5382	3.33	38.34	859	12.2	52.90	36.98
3385	12.32	27.82	960	10.8	5.21	18.55
2528	14.08	15.96	1,800	6.6	...	5.78
2390	27.76		716	6.3	11.42	49.88
9009	19.13	40.09	880	9.3	18.45	32.40
3993	18.24	60.10	859	17.5	35.29	24.73
7177	27.89	44.19	2,297	3.4	...	....
8925	18.72	41.96	...	4.8	8.98	5.06
3283	4.37	55.98	...	9.4	...	10.49
4482	36.55	43.26	831	9.9	11.42	18.95
3551	15.18	59.98	...	11.8	...	2.00
8369		45.88	...	10.2	...	10.11
5156	12.81	62.35	966	8.9	39.68	57.82
5744		73.83	...	..	100.00	.01
4124	11.63	33.94	815	16.8	16.72	42.76
3307	28.44	35.86	1,061	12.2	29.21	25.10
3848	13.15	46.10	1,244	9.8	12.65	51.13
4551	5.50	44.29	...	5.7	...	.36
606	36.47	90.59	1,317	7.4	4.96	75.14
5034	10.51	65.47	876	12.0	39.10	40.89
0025	25.61	45.56	833	6.2	5.58	26.50
3620	34.18	56.21	...	13.6	33.33	17.16
2060		57.03	...	..	...	.46
169	23.70	45.01	822	9.6	10.09	29.84
1953	17.03	74.24	630	9.7	14.48	55.77
507	34.96	95.59	...	10.7	...	1.36
169	5.61	55.67	958	19.7	32.18	64.61
514			1,059	5.0	....	56.10
2203	7.98	42.98	845	10.6	6.76	46.06
2907	16.98	69.90	1,481	3.9	8.51	13.75
9638	3.64	26.60	985	10.4	7.08	26.24
250	44.06	66.11	...	5.0	5.76	4.31
3028	6.30	26.68	500	14.0	6.30	35.07
1801	17.54	35.94	824	9.2	35.93	14.56
051	22.42	45.11	...	7.3	36.36	2.21
338	52.83	42.31	...	16.3	...	2.69
1588	26.17	55.84	876	7.1	3.24	31.34
2968	26.12	61.99	912	9.7	9.55	50.01
2010	11.47	58.90	...	6.6	...	4.85
186	29.36	68.61	...	22.6	8.06	13.53
2058	17.53	67.76	1,071	13.0	49.93	68.22
952	6.00	39.92	915	8.6	60.61	45.64
715	22.55	52.35	1,240	10.4	12.09	33.65
337	25.02	75.44	1391	5.[illegible]	4.87	20.21

	Estimated no. of Registered Voters		No. Paid poll tax	
COUNTY	Negro	White	Negro	White
45. Henry	288	4,240	1,004	
46. Highland	15	1,206	12	
47. Isle of Wight	670	2,730	766	
48. James City	342	969	392	
49. King and Queen	300	530	373	
50. King George	300	1,100	468	
51. King William	135	850	467	
52. Lancaster	485	1,385	582	
53. Lee	116	11,761	87	
54. Loudoun	336	6560	463	
55. Louisa	337	1,946	457	
56. Lunenburg	625	1,985	546	
57. Madison	120	1,595	210	
58. Mathews	80	1,200	161	
59. Mecklenburg	452	3,365	1,724	
60. Middlesex	175	1,065	346	
61. Montgomery	460	6,315	273	
62. Nansemond	570	2,135	2,286	
63. Nelson	108	1,674	301	
64. New Kent	175	510	372	
65. Norfolk	4,950	10,950	857	
66. Northampton	665	1,975	704	
67. Northumberland	195	1,560	649	
68. Nottoway	380	2,410	704	
69. Orange	270	2,450	343	
70. Page	110	5,400	68	
71. Patrick	30	2,975	151	
72. Pittsylvania	403	6,175	1,375	
73. Powhatan	248	737	335	
74. Prince Edward	825	2,000	1,152	
75. Prince George	95	750	347	
76. Prince William	235	2,208	365	
77. Princess Anne	1,665	10,230	1,250	
78. Pulaski	310	4550	300	
79. Rappahannock	275	2,300	156	
80. Richmond	180	875	182	
81. Roanoke	579	8,100	334	
82. Rockbridge	480	3,295	207	
83. Rockingham	78	7,780	30	
84. Russell	69	7,364	65	
85. Scott	45	9,900	42	
86. Shenandoah	80	6235	52	
87. Smyth	78	6685	108	
88. Southampton	460	2525	1,753	
89. Spotsylvania	490	2,295	422	
90. Stafford	340	2,500	144	

1952

x	Number Registered		No. Voting		No 21 years of age and over		Percent registe population
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
					3474	13383	8.29
					103	2394	14.56
					3957	4520	16.93
					1590	2247	21.50
					1795	1837	16.71
					987	3042	30.39
					1888	2612	7.15
					2015	2361	24.06
					257	18139	45.13
					2098	10429	16.01
					2602	4919	12.95
					2905	5010	21.51
					976	3865	12.29
					1139	3912	7.02
					7655	10479	5.90
					1568	2675	11.16
					959	16609	47.96
					8931	5441	6.38
					1882	6145	5.73
					1150	1159	15.21
					8898	48670	55.63
					5105	5688	13.02
					2118	4038	9.20
					3607	5665	10.53
					1791	5978	15.07
					313	8698	35.14
					626	7711	4.79
					9271	26440	4.34
					1349	1783	18.38
					3468	5238	23.78
					3129	8148	3.03
					5724	11945	4.10
					1524	20306	
					1165	14549	26.60
					617	2876	44.57
					1077	2642	16.71
					2321	23715	22.36
					1211	12349	39.63
					409	20265	19.07
					370	13384	18.64
					187	14861	24.06
					231	12900	34.63
					289	16710	26.98
					7972	6661	5.77
					1470	5453	33.33
					800	6229	42.50

X

A B ✓ 1956

cent registered of total population of voting age		Estimate No. of Registered Voters		No. Paid Poll tax		No 21 years of age and over	
Negro	White	Negro	White Tota	Negro	White	Negro 1950 Non-w. Pop	White
8.29	31.69	400	4,785	5185		3494	13383
14.56	50.37	11	1253	1264		103	2394
16.93	60.39	735	3,311	4046		3957	4520
21.50	43.12	330	1,145	1475		1590	2247
16.71	28.85	205	760	965		1795	1837
30.39	36.16	325	1,200	1525		987	3042
7.15	32.54	~~1,146~~ 260	1,146	1406		1888	2612
24.06	58.66	415	~~1,660~~ ~~2075~~ 1160	2075 (2075) See note		2015	2361
45.13	64.83	97	11,587	"Wildcat" → 11,684 made by court order May 1st, 1956		257	18139
16.01	62.90	531	8,536	9067		2098	10429
12.95	39.56	361	2032	2393		2602	4919
21.51	39.62	500	2,100	2600		2905	5010
12.29	41.26	79	1,660	1739		976	3865
7.02	30.67	150	1,190	1340		1139	3912
5.90	32.11	335	4735	5070		7655	10479
11.16	39.81	212	1,168	1380		1568	2675
47.96	38.02	465	6315	6780		959	16609
6.38	39.23	1,148	3,069	4217		8931	5441
5.73	27.24	352	3,021	3373		1882	6145
15.21	44.00	240	685	925		1150	1159
55.63	22.49	1426	8430 ~~[illegible]~~	9856		8898	48676
13.02	34.72	529	2,150	2679		5105	5688
9.20	38.63	716	2,543	3259		2118	4038
10.53	42.54	655	2,905	3560		3607	5665
15.07	40.98	247	2,194	2441		1791	5978
35.14	62.08	110	5900	6010		313	8698
4.79	38.58	80	3,400	3480		626	7711
4.34	23.35	502	6,435	6937		9271	26440
18.38	41.33	329	1,302	1631		1349	1783
23.78	38.18	725	2,550	3275		3468	5238
3.03	9.20	175	1230	1405		3129	8148
4.10	18.48		—	(William		1524 ~~5724~~	11945
	52.84	1414 ~~1800~~	*2353 ~~11,265~~	~~13065~~		5724 ~~1524~~	20306
26.60	31.27	695	7,750	8445		1165	14579
44.57	79.97	330	1,950	2280		617	2876
16.71	33.11	235	1,300	1535		1077	2642
22.36	34.15	539	21,680	22219		2321	23715
39.63	26.68	345	4738	5083		1211	12349
19.07	38.39	78	7,830	7908		409	20265
18.64	55.62	75	8654	8729		376	13384
24.06	66.61	36	8,973	9009		187	14861
34.63	48.33	75	6466	6541		231	12900
26.98	40.00	82	7,422	7504		289	16710
5.77	37.90	575	3,785	4360		7972	6661
33.33	42.08	335	2,775	3110		1470	5453
42.50	40.13	350	2,780	3130		800	6229

1956

s of age. ach ohite	Percent registered of total pop. of voting age C Negro	D White	1950 income in 27 1949 of non-white fam. + unrelated Individuals Median income	% of persons within no School yrs completed 25 yrs + older	% of 1950 Non-white population tenants	
13383	11.51	35.75	1532	8.0	15.75	27.22
2394	10.67	52.33	...	20.0	....	2.89
4520	18.57	73.25	1,292	12.5	39.74	51.93
2247	20.75	50.91	1,309	8.4	3.84	46.52
1837	11.42	41.37	1,027	9.3	11.63	53.50
3042	32.92	39.44	989	5.3	12.58	27.40
2612	13.8 ~~60.69~~	~~9.95~~ 43.9	864	11.0	11.46	43.07
2361	70.6	~~59.88~~ 70.3	1,041	9.8	2.37	41.21
18139	37.74		...	...	33.33	7.12
10429	25.30	81.84	940	8.2	15.00	18.82
4919	13.87	41.30	780	9.6	7.42	39.83
5010	17.21	41.91	924	7.8	44.76	43.80
3865	8.09	42.94	...	6.0	5.40	23.09
3912	13.16	30.41	...	3.3	5.06	24.93
10479	4.37	45.18	1,070	9.9	56.69	44.27
2675	13.52	43.66	754	9.3	3.37	41.89
16669	48.48	38.02	...	7.4	....	4.54
5441	12.85	56.40	1,126	9.8	44.37	80.23
6145	18.70	49.16	731	14.4	17.67	27.01
1159	20.85	59.18	...	7.8	12.41	62.46
48676	16.02	17.32	1,488	6.9	16.55	64.13
5688	10.36	37.79	791	8.9	46.91	53.47
4038	33.86	62.97	1,170	7.2	5.49	40.82
5665	18.15	51.27	1,186	5.8	18.93	45.13
5978	13.79	36.70	816	12.7	6.30	29.81
8698	35.14	67.83	...	1.5	14.28	1.84
7711	12.77	44.09	...	8.2	34.43	8.40
26440	5.41	24.33	1,107	11.2	65.72	33.35
1783	24.38	73.02	1,080	12.6	5.69	43.53
5238	20.90	48.68	852	9.8	18.50	49.05
8148	5.59	15.09	1,264	10.0	19.93	38.30
11945			1,213	5.4	5.40	42.86
20306	24.7	~~55.47~~ 60.8	1,292	10.6	2.06	8.31
14549	59.65	53.26	1,143	11.2	3.70	6.17
2876	53.48	67.80	...	10.9	4.10	17.68
2642	21.81	49.20	904	14.7	5.63	34.31
23715	23.22	91.41	1,475	9.2	4.87	9.68
12349	28.48	38.36	919	4.1	12.50	5.11
20265	19.07	38.63	...	11.0	....	1.81
13384	20.27	64.65	...	7.3	18.75	2.52
14861	19.25	60.37	...	26.5	....	.97
12900	32.46	50.12	...	17.9	....	1.80
16710	28.37	44.41	...	9.6	....	.95
6661	7.21 ?	59.82	910	4.4	74.03	63.74
5453	22.78	50.88	1,056	10.5	4.65	23.84
6229	43.75	44.62	...	10.7	5.37	12.76

7

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

30 AM 11 27

AA19 RA160

(13)

R PT032 28/24 COLLECT=PETERSBURG VIR 30 1104AME=

HAROLD C FLEMING SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC=
ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE N E ATLANTA GA=

REVISED OFFICIAL FIGURES CITIZES WHITE 297168 COLORED 45343 TOTAL 342511 COUNTIES WHITE 495161 COLORED 37755 TOTAL 532916 AS OF APRIL DATA ON WAY=

H W ROBERTS=

342511
532916
875427

297168
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297168 45343 342511 495161 37755 532916=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Copied 1/2/56

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
December 28, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Congratulations on your appointment to the directorship of the Council! I wish you a very successful directorship.

I wish to call your attention to a few corrections that should be made in the estimated number of voters by counties and cities (1956) which may or may not have been made on the sheets sent you.

County or City	Est. No. of Voters		No. ~~of Negroes~~ 21 and over		Percent Reg.	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
King William Co.	260	1146			13.8	43.9
Lancaster Co.	415	1160			20.6	70.3
Princess Anne Co.	1414	12353	5724	5724	24.7	60.8
Charlottesville	1054	8222			34.2	55.7
Hampton [1]			8617	30,264	24.2	43.0
Warwick City [2]	868	8152	7129	16,646	12.2	48.1

[1] Elizabeth City Co. (sic) was added to Hampton in 1952
[2] Warwick Co. became a city in 1954.

Happy New Year,

H. W. Roberts

P. S. No secretary. Please excuse writing.

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

October 30, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am forwarding the tabulated data to you. You will find in the estimated registered voters data a few omissions and a few irreconcilable data arising from the number reported registered equal to or more than the number 21 years of age and over. There is nothing you can do about this. The registered voters data were reported by the localities to the State Board of Elections and are official.

You will find our totals differ to some extent from the summary totals on the fourth page given by the office for the four years. I think they made a mistake in their additions. Our totals are at the bottom of the columns.

I hope to finish the report by the end of the week. I am sorry that I could not push this part of the week any faster. As it is, I am working myself to the breaking point as this was an additional load on top of an overload.

Best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

HWR:gra

Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology

P.S. Secured the revised figures this morning by phone after this letter was written. There are still some differences in totals, due doubtless to localities sending in corrected figures. H.

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

November 5, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Ass't Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Owburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At last, I am getting the balance of my report to you. I wish I could have done more. I may have done more than was asked. In any case, I tried to do what seemed to me to be the interpretation of the instructions given, writen and oral.

I shall send in the expense accounts tomorrow and will write you concerning the same.

With every good wish

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

Harry W. Roberts,
Chief Consultant

HWR:jef

Report of a Survey
# of Negro Suffrage in Virginia
Summer 1956

Purpose:

To document the status of the Negro vote in Virginia, in terms of size, proportion of the total, distribution, and extent and methods of disfranchisement.

Method and Procedure:

Because of the shortage of time, limited funds and other considerations, a sample on the basis of the percentage of Negro population--under 10, 10-25, 25-50, 50 and over--of every fifth county and city, of the 98 counties and 32 cities, was surveyed. To the 21 counties arrived at by this procedure, 11 additional counties were added and to the 7 cities 12 additional cities were added to check on the sample, making in all 32 counties and 19 cities studied. The years 1940, 1947, 1952, and 1956 were used for basic data on registrations secured from the state Board of Elections and for such poll tax data that were available in published form. Interviews were held with Negroes who were leaders working in the area of the suffrage and who had firsthand knowledge of conditions. They consisted of lawyers, doctors, ministers, a few teachers, real estate agents, politicians, farmers, businessmen, industrial workers, housewives, and others. In most of these counties and cities the county and city officials (white) who handle election matters were interviewed as were a number of white laymen. Among them were county and city clerks and treasurers, commonwealth attroneys, registrars, political leaders, farmers, superintendents of schools,members of boards of supervisors, merchants, and a home demonstration agent.

A Negro and a white professor, experienced in such studies, did the interviewing, with the writer covering a few counties and cities. In most of the counties and cities, four to six key informants were interviewed and chance conversations held with persons met in the process.

For the number of persons 21 years of age and over, the 1940 census figures were used for the year 1940, and the 1950 census figures were used for the years 1947, 1952, and 1956, that census being the nearest to these three years.

With the 1956 registration data, 1950 median income, the percent of the number of school years completed by persons 25 years of age and over, the percent of tenants of nonwhite farm operators, and the percent Negro rural of the total rural population were correlated.

Don't find this

The 1950 census unlike the 1940 census included in its population count persons in institutions in the areas in which the institutions are found, for example, colleges, military establishments, and hospitals. Therefore, a slight error will result in counting as eligible all persons 21 years of age and over in such counties and cities that have such institutions.

Counties Surveyed

Albemarle
Alleghany
Augusta
Bedford
Botetourt
Brunswick
Charlotte
Clarke
Dinwiddie
Gloucester
Greensville
Halifax
Ise of Wight
James City
King George
Londoun
Macklenburg
Montgomery
Nansemond
Norfolk
Orange
Pittsylvania
Prince Edward
Prince George
Richmond
Roanoke
Spotsylvania
Surry
Sussex
Warren
Westmoreland
York

Cities Surveyed

Alexandria
Charlottesville
Clifton Forge
Danville
Fort Royal
Lynchburg
Newport News
Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Radford
Richmond
Roanoke
South Norfolk
Staunton
Suffolk
Waynesboro
Williamsburg
Winchester

What Administrative Procedures or red tape in the application of these provisions serve a discriminatory purpose?

None of these provisions of the law need necessarily serve a discriminatory purpose except as they may automatically discriminate against the economically poor, the educationally handicapped, and the socially weak and dependent regardless of race.

And, perhaps, while in general, they are not purposely used in a discriminatory fashion they may lend themselves to such use and in a number of cases they are reportedly so used. In fact, reports show wide variations in administrative procedures among the counties and cities and even within these political units. The personal equation in a administrative procedures is reported as sometimes working in favor of Negroes and sometimes against them. There is the suspicion among some of the Negro leaders that in some cases the poorer Whites may experience some of the same variations in treatment accorded Negroes.

Some of the administrative procedures in applying the provisions of the poll tax that may be used in a discriminatory fashion were reported to be these:

1. Tax collectors discouraging poll tax payments by advising Negroes that they do not have to pay poll taxes. The writer has seen this advice given a white woman of the laboring class. This practice was very widely reported.
2. Negroes reporting no poll tax bills or notices received.
3. Poll tax bills included on a form upon which other taxes are included and the Negro may pay the poll tax every year without knowing that he has paid it.
4. Refusal to take the poll tax unless other taxes are paid.
5. Failure to force by legal process the payment of delinquent poll taxes, even though the tax is over three years due and payment is legally enforceable.
6. Requiring person to pay poll tax if they secure dog tags but not enforced against Negroes.
7. Will garnishee you for delinguent poll taxes after three years in arrears but collect only for one year leaving the Negro in arrears in his poll tax.
8. Where stress is laid by newspapers, notices in schools and other places on paying taxes, it is taxes in general, but care is taken not to mention or single out the poll taxes.

9. If a group of 10 or 15 were to go to the office to pay their poll taxes, the treasurer may ask, "Who was advising them to pay their taxes". Case reported where just one young man was told in Halifax Co. "You are the only young man to come up and pay the taxes. Somebody must be pushing you."

10. Strike poll tax off the tax bill. When asked about it the tax collector would say it was an error.

11. Use of word capitation tax., instead of poll tax. Many poorly educated Negroes do not know that the terms are used synonymously.

12. Registered persons sometimes find their poll tax payments not listed. Claim this does not happen to those who are not registered.

Some of the administrative procedures in applying registration provisions that may be used in a discriminatory manner were reported to be these:

1. The registration officials may aid some persons in registering but rigidly abide by the law and refuse to assist others.
2. Requiring Negroes to read the oath to the satisfaction of the registrar.
3. In a few counties the involved legal phraseology of one or more questions on a printed form which must be correctly answered in writing.
4. Application of a reading or an eduaction test.
5. Registrar keeping his books in his home, but applicant unable to catch the registrar at home, or the registrar too busy to registrar applicant.
6. If registrar kept books in his office or place of business, the office was open at the registrars whim. The Registrar may claim that he forgot to bring the books from his home.
7. Not registering Negro applicant when requested, but registering Whites at any time. Registrar may claim to be ill or too busy unless the applicant applied on the specific day set by the State for all registrars to be at their posts to receive applications.
8. Registrars tell applicants "You didn't pass," but refuse to give the reason why.
9. Requiring applicant to meet all the technical requirements of grammar and writing in filling out the application form, and rejecting applicants for

such things as a misspelled word, improper or lack of punctuation, the use of a capital letter in the wrong place or the failure to use it in the right place, or for poor writing in terms of legibility.

10. Requiring some to produce poll tax receipts while not requiring it of others.
11. Names of applicant not on the list of poll tax payers although they may have been paid.
12. Joking or half sneering remarks which tend to ridicule the applicants concern about registering or suggest the unimportance of registering and voting.
13. Rigid enforcement of the letter of the law in the case of Negroes.
14. Registrar takes the registration books to a plant and register the Whites but not the Negroes.

15. Leaving out the Statement "I am a Negro," although this is not one of the generally required questions.
16. Registration made easier when you are known to be on the right side politically.
17. Requiring the writing of a letter to the registrar in order to register.

It is to be understood that the above practices are not general, but they were reported as practices here and there incertain counties and in a few cities.

V Socio-Economic Factors

A. To what extent and in what areas of the State do economic dependency of Negroes and or social pressures serve as a deterrent to registration and voting. Some of the socio-economic factors associated with and ~~are~~ a part of the deterring forces militating against registration and voting are these:

1. Areas of high Negro population relative to Whites.
2. Economice status-employment and income . (a) High farm tenancy, farm laborer, domestic labor, and low income areas.
3. Areas of high illiteracy or functional illiteracy rates.

An analysis below of the reports on 32 counties and 19 cities studied show that the difficulties in exercising the franchise at the three points of

Table 1

Thirty-two Counties

22 (or 69 percent) of 32 Counties show some difficulty in exercising the suffrage.

18 (or 56.3 Percent) of 32 Counties report some difficulty With the poll tax.

7 (or 21.9 percent) " " " " " " " registration now.

10 (or 31.3 percent) " " " " " " " " in past.

5 (or 15.6 percent) " " " " " " voting at the polls.

Five Counties with Negro Population under 10 Percent

3 (or 60 percent) of the 5 Counties report some difficulty.

2 (or 40 percent) " " " " " " " in connection with the poll tax.

0 " " " " " any difficulty in connection with registration past or persent.

1. (or 20 percent) " " " " " some " voting at the polls but only in connection with the January 9th referandum on changing the constitution.

Seven Counties with Negro Population 10-25 Percent

3 (or 4.3 percent) of the 7 Counties report some difficulty.

3 (or 4.3 percent) " " " " " " " with the poll tax.

0 " " " " " any " registering at persent.

1 (or 14.7 percent) " " " " " some " registering in the past.

0 " " " " " any " voting at the polls.

Thirteen Counties with Negro Population 25-50 Percent

7 (or 53.8 percent) of the 13 Counties report some difficulty with the suffage.

7 (or 53.8 percent) " " " " " " " " " poll tax.

3 (or 23.1 percent) " " " " " " " " registering at present.

4 (or 30.8 percent) " " " " " " " " " in the past.

1 (or 8 percent) " " " " " " " voting at the polls.

Eight Counties with Negro Population 50 Percent and Over

6 (or 75 percent) of the 8 Counties report some difficulty with exercising the suffrage.

6 (or 75 percent) " " " " " " " in connection with the poll tax.

3 (or 37.5 percent) of the 8 Counties report some difficulty in registering at present.

4 (or 50 percent) " " " " " " " " " in the past.

3 (or 37. 5 percent) of the 8 Counties report some difficulty in voting at the polls.

Nineteen Cities

10 (or 52.6 percent) of the 19 Cities reported some suffrage difficulty.

5 (Or 26. 3 percent) " " " " " " difficulty with the poll tax.

1 (or 5.3 percent) " " " " " " " at present with registering.

3 (or 15.8 percent) " " " " " " " in the past " " .

5 (or 26. 3 percent)" " " " " " " " voting at the polls.

Four Cities with Negro Population under 10 Percent

None of the 4 Cities reported difficulties.

Eight Cities with Negro Population 10-25 Percent

4 (or 50 percent) of the 8 Cities reported some difficulty.

2 (or 25 percent) " " " " " " " with the poll tax.

1 (or 12.5 percent) of the 8 Cities reported some difficulty with registration at the present.

0 " " " " " any difficulty with registration in the past.

2 (or 12.5 percent) " " " " " some " in voting at the polls.

Seven Cities with Negro Population 25-50 Percent

6 (85.7 percent) of the 7 Cities reported some difficulty.

3 (or42.9 percent) of the 7 Cities reported some difficulty with the poll tax.

0 " " " " " any " with registration at present.

3 (or 42.9 percent)" " " " " some " " " in the past.

3 (or 42. 9 percent)" " " " " " " in voting at the polls.

poll tax payment, registration and voting at the polls tend to increase concomitantly in number and gravity with the increase in the percent of Negroes in the population. This tends to hold true unless disturbed by some unusal intervening factors. These areas of high Negro population rates tend also to be the areas of high illiteracy and low economic status among Negroes and make for dependency and susceptibility to social pressure from the employing class. See table 1.

The areas of relatively high percentage of Negro population from 25 to 50 and from 50 percent and above, are found largely in the first, second, third, fourth, the eastern half of the fifth, and the eighth congressional districts except for the northern tip of the eigth. This includes the counties comprising the Eastern Shore, Coastal Plain, Tidewater, the Southside and most of the Piedmont.

(Socio-economically, the agricultural part of this area is largely semi-feudal and paternalistic with the white large large land owners, operating as quasi-feudal lords. For their farms, sawmills, small businesses and homes they want an ample supply of cheap, tractable, and exploitable lobor. Over the years they have worked out a system of economic, educational, social, and political organization which will provide this labor pattern. Being in economic and political control, they have established policies to keep the vote small so as to insure political control. In the constitutional convention of 1902 several political leaders clearly stated that the dominant purpose of the convention was to eliminate entirely the Negro from participation in politics. When the opposition pointed out that the poll tax and other measures would eliminate many of the white voters particularly in the western part of the State, they replied that this was the price that had to be paid. It was stated that the local registrars were expected to act with discrimination against Negroes. Another basic tenet of this group was that those who do the common labor of the country were incapable of and should not participate in, political life. This same group did not believe in the principle of public education, though they may have given lip service to it. In many of the localities a few dominant families, their relatives, and friends form something like an interlocking directorate and control the key positions in the economic, social and political system. The result is that the mere awareness of its presence has the effect of cowering both whites and blacks and especially those who depend on them for land rental contracts, jobs, wages, loans and credit, sponsorship, protection, and representation. Whenever a line of action is contemplated by these dependents, the throught that dominates their minds is "What will he think of this?" or "How will he regard this?" The decision is made in line with what the dependent one thinks is the wish of the dominant status person. A mere suggestion from one of these dominant status persons is often accepted as a command.)

The educational level of the Negroes, the lack or paucity of leaders among them, their physical and cultural isolation, their horizonal mobility, their economic poverty that keeps their minds and energies concentrated upon satisfying their basic physical needs, and the imaginings and fears that accompany a dependent and nigh helpless people-all militate against political activity.

In the northern part of the State where the Negro opoulation is so much smaller percentagewise many of the Negroes work in agriculture and in domestic and personal service occupations which partly because of their small numbers isolates them from thought currents found in organized labor circles and brings them psychologically as well as economically under the dominant influence of their employers.

The employees seem largely unconscious of the subtle influence and pressurers exercised over them by their employers. Influence and pressures here tend to take the form primarily of suggestion and advice. Where they are employed in industries having labor unions the latter tend to include them in their general program of persuading their members to engage in the voting process. Progress along this line, however, is slowed by the background of non-participation and the social environment of non-participation in polities by Negroes. On the other hand, since their numbers are small, there tends to be fewer obstacles to participation and more encouragement to participation on the part of officials.

In the Southwest, where a two-party system brings vigorous political contests, there is an apparent tendency for Negroes to be more active politically and few if any obstacles placed in their way.

B. To what extent do apathy, and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

At the present time and under present conditions, apathy, lack of understanding of the significance of political action, and the belief in the uselessness of such activity, appear to be the most important factors accounting for the failure of Negroes to use the ballot. To this must be added the low educational level of many and a vague fear that they may not be able to successfully register.

VII. Organized Efforts and Prospects

A. What organized efforts are under way in the State to increase or decrease Negro registration and voting?

Organized efforts to increase the vote among Negroes are being carried on by the Virginia Voters League with its 28 chapters in as many counties and cities. In addition, there are here and there local civic clubs interested in increasing political activity.

The NAACP has 100 or more branches in as many counties and cities of the State . Some of them, however, are inactive or do not concern themselves with the suffrage. In the past year or two many of its branches have given attention to a program to increase registration and voting among Negroes.

On the other hand, the organized efforts of the State and local governments to prevent integration, in the public schools are also aimed, to say the least, at restricting the work of the NAACP.

To the extent that this action of the State and local governments is successful, it will have the effect of decreasing the work of the NAACP in promoting registration and voting.

B. What appears to be the immediate prospects for Negro suffrage in the State?

The greatest threat to the increase of the suffrage at the present time is the current attack on the NAACP by the State and local governments referred the to above. The new laws recently passed require the NAACP to register, to open its books to the governing officials and to restrict its activities in certain ways.

On the other hand, there are prospects of increasing Negro participation in politics as revealed by the following facts:

1. Legislation

   As a result of an act of the General Assembly passed in 1950 making it passible for counties to create an office of general registrar,[1] a number of counties and have centralized registration in the last three or four years. Where these registrars are functioning, there has been a great reduction in the number of discriminatory complaints.

2. Older, often biased registrars, who served during the years when Negroes were not supposed to register and vote and who often were poorly educated themselves are dieing out, have resigned, or have been replaced by younger persons, better educated, less biased, and unhampered by the obstructionist habits of the past.
3. Growing political consciousness of Negroes.
4. Organized efforts on the part of Negroes to increase registration and voting.
5. The growing spirit of liberalism among white lay people and officials.
6. The gradual breaking down of the semi-feudal system with its dominant family conrol system.

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[1] Code of Virginia, 1950: 1954 Cumulative Supplement, Annotated, Vol. 5, p.65

III. Voting Performance is influenced by many factors.

1. Presidential elections - (highest votes polled)
2. The presence or absence of issues regarded as signigicant in local elections.
3. The degree of competition between or among candidates for votes.
4. The presence or absence of artificial barriers.
5. Whether or not there is a Negro candidate.
6. The extent to which local leadership works to get out the vote.
7. Expressed attitudes of lay whites, particularly employers, in the community toward Negro voting.
8. Expressed attitudes of election officials toward Negro voting.
9. Past history of Negro voting in an area.
10. The socio-economic status of the Negroes in the area.
11. The socio-economic status of Whites in the area.
12. The proportion of Negroes in the population.

III. VOTING PERFORMANCE

There are hardly any reliable studies on the actual voting performance of the two races in the State. In the 1952 presidential election (in such elections Virginians roll up their largest votes), there was a total of 713,073[1] persons registered in the State, according to the office of the State Board of Elections, and 619,689[2] votes cast in the election for presidential electors, or 86.9 percent of the total number registered.

Estimates of Negro votes in the city of Richmond made by Negro and white informants is about 50 - 65 percent of the registered voters. Estimates in Petersburg indicate that the range is from 35 to 95 percent depending upon the issues in a local election, whether a Negro candidate is in the field and the extent to which the leaders work among the people. In the last local election in Portsmouth, in which a Negro candidate ran for a local office, it was estimated that 90 percent of the Negro registrants voted. In a number of counties, informants claim that 20 to 40 percent of the persons 21 years of age and over vote. Most of them estimating the number to be 20 to 30 percent, but a few as low as 8 percent. In fact there are a few counties with only about 5 percent of Negroes of voting age registered. The evidence seems to be that women of both races vote less than men, some of the poorly educated believing that voting is the responsibility of men.

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[1] Data secured from the State Board of Elections, Richmond, Va., July 6, 1956.

[2] Davis, Levin Nock, "Statement of the Vote for President and Vice-President United States Senator--Nov. 4,1952." p.4.

IV. Legal Determinants--State Constitutional provisions

A. The Poll tax

Section 21. "...That unless exempted by section twenty-two, he shall, as a prerequisite to the right to vote, personally pay, at least six months prior to the election, all State poll taxes assessed or assessable against him under this Constitution, during the three years next preceding that in which he offers to vote.

If he shall have registered after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and four, he shall, unless physically unable, prepare and deposit his ballot without aid, on such printed form as the law may prescribe; but any voter registered prior to that date may be aided in the preparation of his ballot by such officer of election as he himself may designate."1/

Section 22. "...The collection of the State poll tax assessed against anyone shall not be enforced by legal process until the same has become three years past due."2/

B. Registration

Section 20. "...First, That he has personally paid to the proper officer all State poll taxes legally assessed or assessable against him for the three years next preceding that in which he offers to register;"

1/ Davis, Levin Nock, Virginia Election Laws in Effect as of July 1, 1956, p. 6.

2/ Ibid. p.6.

"...Second. That unless physically unable, he make application to register in his own handwriting, without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, in the presence of the registration officer, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the one year next preceding, and wheter he has previously voted, and if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last; and,

Third. The he answer onooath any and all questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registration officer, which questions, and his answers thereto, shall be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer, and preserved as a part of his official records."[3]

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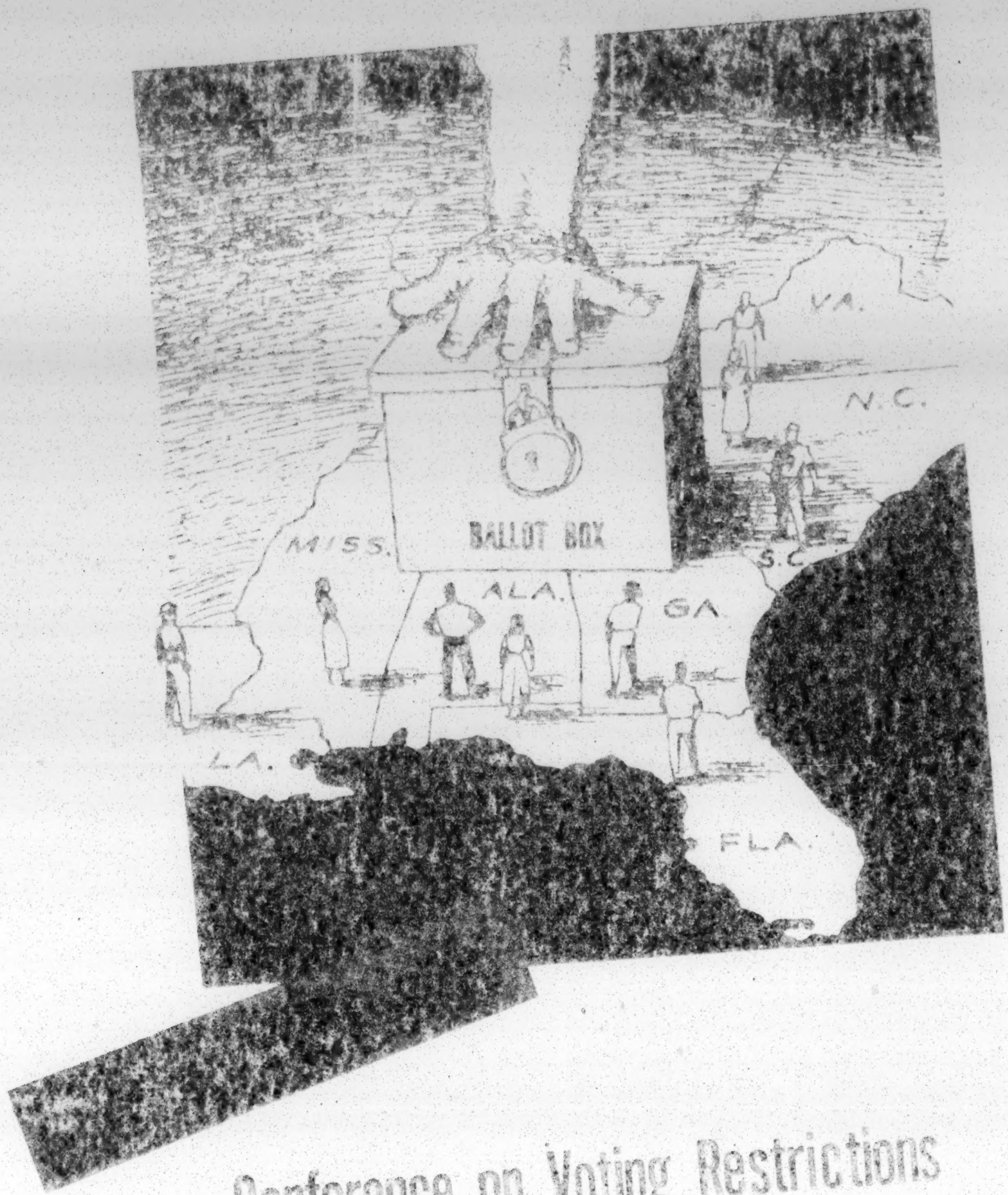
[2] Davis, Levin Nock, Virginia Election Laws in Effect as of July 1, 1956. pp.5 - 6.


BALLOT BOX
VA.
N.C.
S.C.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
LA.
FLA.

Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

Asbury Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

April 27, 1950

(S.C.E.7)

For release
in afternoon
April 27, 1958

VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN VIRGINIA

By W. Hale Thompson, Attorney

Voting restrictions in Virginia are designed to keep the electorate small and controllable. Legal procedures for qualification do not tell the whole story.

You have all heard how Negroes are kept from registering and voting by manipulation of the poll tax and the use of questionnaires about the Constitution and the statutes.

Less well known are the harsh economic reprisals against Negroes who dare to encourage others to qualify to vote, or who seek to run for public office in Virginia.

In a county in Southside Virginia, Mr. J had been leader in the fight for public school equalization and later for integrated schools. He had spent most of his 60-odd years working among his people, trying to get them to qualify for voting.

He was so busy with his school work and the voting problems in his county that he never had time to acquire a farm of his own. He rented one from some white people who had gone North and he worked it for more than 20 years.

Shortly after the school desegregation decision in 1954, his landlord ordered him to move. Mr. J was finally able to rent another farm. He stayed on that one for two years, and then the same thing happened. He finally had to leave the county because no one would rent him a farm. He is held up as an example of what happens to Negroes who "get too big for their britches."

Nevertheless, he is still carrying on the fight to get Negroes qualified to vote in his home county, which is more than 60% Negro.

In another county in Southside Virginia, Mr. W was a prominent preacher and farmer. He owned a 150-acre farm and rented another of equal size. It had been his custom to borrow money locally each year for operating expenses and to repay the money after the crops were sold.

Mr. W had been active in the N.A.A.C.P. and in the County Voters' League for many years. Before 1954, the people who ran the county didn't pay too much attention to Mr. W. They considered him "just another Colored preacher." Then Mr. W decided he was going to run for one of the three seats on the County Board of Supervisors, the governing body of the county.

The day after he announced his candidacy, he was asked to pay his creditors over $8,000. Credit that had been extended to him was secured by demand notes. It had been orally understood that payment would be made after crops were sold and new notes given to secure the unpaid balance.

In this as in other Virginia counties, credit is extended to Negroes on demand notes. When one steps out of line, he is threatened with economic suicide.

Efforts were made to obtain money for Mr. W to pay his creditors. He was told by them that if he withdrew from the race they would go easy on him. This man saw everything that he and his family had worked for many years taken away from him.

It took several weeks to arrange to pay off his creditors. In the meantime this poor man had aged 20 years. He withdrew from the race for supervisor, his spirit broken.

These are just two examples of how Negroes are kept from exercising their rights as citizens. Of approximately 750,000 Negroes in Virginia, slightly more than 80,000 are qualified to vote. However, a greater percentage of them generally vote than do the whites who are qualified.

Virginia, like most Southern states, has a very small percentage of her population taking part in political activity. About 34% of the adult population went to the polls in 1956. However, 64 to 66% of the qualified Negroes voted.

One reason given for the voter apathy is the so-called short ballot. In Virginia, only three officers are elected by the state as a whole--the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Attorney General. All other executive officers are appointed. In other words, the people of Virginia have permitted machine politicians to relieve them of the right to choose those who govern them.

So you see that perhaps the greatest restrictions against voting in Virginia are not legal at all, but rather sociological and psychological.

Negroes and poor whites have been pitted against each other for centuries. Negroes have become used to seeing everything that represents authority clothed in a white face, and the poor white has been conditioned to being told what to do by his "betters."

The pattern of segregation has inflicted upon the masses of Negroes a feeling of despair. If one of his group seeks public office he is either forced to withdraw because of fear of economic strangulation, or the air is filled with race hate and the qualifications of the candidate are forgotten if his skin is not white.

#

Nottoway,	2655	565

VIRGINIA

Estimated Number of
Registered Voters — April 1958

Source: Levin Knock Davis,
Secretary, State Board of Elections,
Richmond — Jan. 15, 1959

COUNTIES AND CITIES	White	Colored	Combined Number
Counties			
Accomack,	4469	493	
Albemarle,	4120	645	
Alleghany,	2056	158	
Amelia,	1975	607	
Amherst,	4586	596	
Appomattox,	2390	150	
Arlington,	43252	1274	
Augusta,	7271	175	
Bath,	1704	72	
Bedford,	6130	855	
Bland,	1672	17	
Botetourt,	4740	-0-	
Brunswick,	3856	770	
Buchanan,	11625	-0-	
Buckingham,	1075	440	
Campbell,	5358	775	
Caroline,	1410	502	
Carroll,	6445	11	
Charles City,	554	632	72 Indians
Charlotte,	3296	284	
Chesterfield,	11325	1270	
Clarke,	2105	225	
Craig,	1080	-0-	
Culpeper,	2827	477	
Cumberland,	1475	300	
Dickenson,	9260	45	
Dinwiddie,	3424	836	
Essex,	845	225	
Fairfax,	47506	1074	

Stafford,	2940	345

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF
REGISTERED VOTERS — APRIL 1958

VIRGINIA

SOURCE: LEVIN NOCK DAVIS,
SECRETARY, STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
RICHMOND — JAN. 15, 1959

COUNTIES AND CITIES	WHITE	COLORED	COMBINED NUMBER
Counties			
Accomack,	4469	493	
Albemarle,	4120	645	
Alleghany,	2056	158	
Amelia,	1975	607	
Amherst,	4586	596	
Appomattox,	2390	150	
Arlington,	43252	1274	
Augusta,	7271	175	
Bath,	1704	72	
Bedford,	6130	855	
Bland,	1672	17	
Botetourt,	4740	-0-	
Brunswick,	3856	770	
Buchanan,	11625	-0-	
Buckingham,	1075	440	
Campbell,	5358	775	
Caroline,	1410	502	
Carroll,	6445	11	
Charles City,	554	632	72 INDIANS
Charlotte,	3296	284	
Chesterfield,	11325	1270	
Clarke,	2105	225	
Craig,	1080	-0-	
Culpeper,	2827	477	
Cumberland,	1475	300	
Dickenson,	9260	45	
Dinwiddie,	3424	836	
Essex,	845	225	
Fairfax,	47506	1074	
Fauquier,	3937	183	
Floyd,	4433	105	
Fluvanna,	808	82	
Franklin,	3609	386	
Frederick,	4220	45	
Giles,	4950	51	
Gloucester,	2949	647	
Goochland,	1950	675	
Grayson,	6430	71	
Greene,	1700	87	
Greensville	[illegible]	875	

Fauquier,	3937	183	
Floyd,	4433	105	
Fluvanna,	808	82	
Franklin,	3609	386	
Frederick,	4220	45	
Giles,	4950	51	
Gloucester,	2949	647	
Goochland,	1950	675	
Grayson,	6430	71	
Greene,	1700	87	
Greensville,	2810	875	
Halifax,	5750	582	
Hanover,	4646	535	
Henrico,	29958	855	
Henry,	6270	351	
Highland,	1247	10	
Isle of Wight,	3592	931	
James City,	1123	342	
King George,	1200	325	
King and Queen,	565	350	
King William,	1100	305	
Lancaster, *	(NOT LISTED SEPARATELY)		1975
Lee,	12183	128	
Loudoun,	7498	421	
Louisa,	2085	379	
Lunenburg,	2200	460	
Madison,	1985	125	
Mathews,	1475	200	
Mecklenburg,	5250	630	
Middlesex,	1003	203	
Montgomery,	6100	430	
Nansemond,	2909	1338	
Nelson,	3078	366	
New Kent,	808	374	
Norfolk,	6739	1301	
Northampton,	2275	520	
Northumberland,	3070	1480	
Nottoway,	2655	565	
Orange,	2274	257	
Page,	5900	110	
Patrick,	3900	80	
Pittsylvania,	6425	493	
Powhatan,	1365	431	
Prince Edward,	2750	700	
Prince George,	1819	427	
Princess Anne,	15158	1415	
Prince William,	3851	354	
Pulaski,	7572	505	
Rappahannock,	2150	210	
Richmond,	970	285	
Roanoke,	18647	788	
Rockbridge,	4834	345	
Rockingham,	7855	78	
Russell,	6963	89	
Scott,	6320	40	
Shenandoah,	6205	55	
Smyth,	7931	91	
Southampton,	3630	525	
Spotsylvania,	3500	400	

Nottoway,	2655	565			
Orange,	2274	257			
Page,	5900	110			
Patrick,	3900	80			
Pittsylvania,	6425	493			
Powhatan,	1365	431			
Prince Edward,	2750	700			
Prince George,	1819	427			
Princess Anne,	15158	1415			
Prince William,	3851	354			
Pulaski,	7572	505			
Rappahannock,	2150	210			
Richmond,	970	285			
Roanoke,	18647	788			
Rockbridge,	4834	345			
Rockingham,	7855	78			
Russell,	6963	89			
Scott,	6320	40			
Shenandoah,	6205	55			
Smyth,	7931	91			
Southampton,	3630	525			
Spotsylvania,	3500	400			
Stafford,	2940	345			
Surry,	1075	265			
Sussex,	2275	635			
Tazewell,	7140	347			
Warren,	3911	179			
Washington,	7686	178			
Westmoreland,	3177	366			
Wise,	11044	51			
Wythe,	12131	260			
York,	2715	520			
Total	526498	40445	12	1975	
Cities			TOTAL	% OF POP-NEGRO	% OF VOTERS WHO ARE NEGRO
Alexandria,	27175	871	28,046	10.1	3.1
Bristol,	3000	230	3,230	6.1	7.2

Surry,	1075	265			
Sussex,	2275	635			
Tazewell,	7140	347			
Warren,	3911	179			
Washington,	7686	178			
Westmoreland,	3177	366			
Wise,	11044	51			
Wythe,	12131	260			
York,	2715	520			
Total	526498	40445	72	1975	
Cities			TOTAL	% OF POP-NEGRO	% OF VOTERS WHO ARE NEGRO
Alexandria,	27175	871	28,046	10.1	3.1
Bristol,	3000	230	3,230	6.1	7.2
Buena Vista,	1093	31	1,124	3.6	2.8
Charlottesville,	9467	1171	10,638	17.8	11.0
Clifton Forge,	2000	216	2,216	18.7	9.7
Colonial Heights,	2500	-0-	2,500	.2	0
Covington,	2755	460	3,215	9.6	14.3
Danville,	9893	1557	11,450	26.4	13.6
Falls Church,	3297	55	3,352	1.6	1.6
Fredericksburg,	3853	558	4,411	15.4	12.7
Galax,	1350	10	1,360	6.1	.74
Hampton,	14811	2629	17,440	22.6	15.1
Harrisonburg,	3200	185	3,385	7.1	5.5
Hopewell,	4000	310	4,310	14.3	7.2
Lynchburg,	17992	2576	20,568	21.5	12.5
Martinsville,	3397	410	3,807	29.8	10.8
Newport News,	6626	4743	11,369	50.1	41.7
Norfolk,	59422	9888	69,310	25.3	14.3
Norton,	1386	73	1,459	8.3	5.0
Petersburg,	6029	2207	8,236	46.5	26.8
Portsmouth,	11415	4309	15,724	37.6	27.4
Radford,	3957	241	4,198	5.8	5.7
Richmond,	55666	12346	68,012	36.8	18.2
Roanoke,	33825	2699	36,524	16.7	7.4
South Norfolk,	3850	685	4,535	22.2	15.1
Staunton,	5337	396	5,733	10.5	6.9
Suffolk,	2988	675	3,663	36.0	18.4
Virginia Beach,	3591	123	3,714	4.3	3.3
Warwick,	11116	1303	12,419	25.6	10.5
Waynesboro,	4165	144	4,309	7.3	3.3
Williamsburg,	1173	120	1,293	13.1	9.3
Winchester,	3996	91	4,087	9.0	2.2
Total CITIES	324325	51312			
~~Aggregate~~ COUNTIES	526498	40445			
TOTALS	850823	91757			

GRAND TOTAL 944,627 (includes 73 Indians and 1975 for Lancaster County)

Material

J.C. —
M.M.

Special

Suffrage — Va.

VIA AIR MAIL September 29, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

John Griffin called this morning to relay word received from the Virginia Secretary of State. Unfortunately, no county-by-county figures. But following are the state totals, which the Secretary of State said were based on reports of estimated numbers of voters furnished by clerks of courts throughout the State. He didn't say how recently these reports had been gathered, but I suppose we may assume these are 1958 figures.

Total Registration - 937,129

White Registrants - 805,431
Colored Registrants - 131,626
Indian Registrants - 72

Bruce Galphin's series began Sunday in the Journal-Constitution. John Constable will be sending you the articles as they come out.

I was delighted to hear from Ben this morning that he is going to be here next week. I am sure an Atlanta stop will result in one or more good pieces.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

① 42 picas

12 TR rep. (VIRGINIA " – Continued

~~Counties~~ County	1956 Population Total	White	Negro	1958 Registration Total	White	Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro	Negro Population % Registered	White Populati % Regis
Accomack	33923	22094	11829	4962	4469	493	34.9%	9.9%	4.2%	20.2%
Albermarle	27933	22805	5128	4765	4120	645	18.4	13.5	12.6	18.1
Alleghany	11725	10834	891	2214	2056	158	7.6	7.1	17.7	19.
Amelia	8299	4128	4171	2582	1975	607	50.3	23.5	14.6	47.8
Amherst	21063	15623	5440	5182	4586	596	25.8	11.5	11.	29.4
Appomattox	8667	6429	2238	2540	2390	150	25.8	5.9	6.7	37.2
Arlington	158710	151207	7203	44526	43252	1274	4.5	2.9	17.7	28.8
Augusta	35107	33322	1785	7446	7271	175	5.1	2.4	9.8	21.8
Bath	5982	5321	661	1776	1704	72	11.	4.1	10.9	32.
Bedford	31601	25693	5908	6985	6130	855	18.7	12.2	14.5	23.9
Bland	6185	6048	137	1689	1672	17	2.2	1.	12.4	27.6
Botetourt	16555	15112	1443	4740	4740	-0-	8.7	-0.-	-0.-	31.4
Brunswick	20544	8095	12449	4626	3856	770	60.6	16.6	6.2	47.6
Buchanan	38650	38636	14	11625	11625	-0-	.04	-0.-	-0.-	30.1
Buckingham	12135	6738	5397	1515	1075	440	44.4	29.	8.2	16.
Campbell	33669	26063	7606	6133	5358	775	22.6	12.6	10.2	20.6
Caroline	12788	6108	6680	1912	1410	502	52.2	26.3	7.5	23.1
Carroll	26882	26481	401	6456	6445	11	1.5	.17	2.7	24.3
Charles City	4842	867	3975	1186	554	632	82.1	53.3	15.9	63.9
Charlotte	15431	9352	6079	3580	3296	284	39.4	7.9	4.7	35.2
Chesterfield	56044	46385	9659	12595	11325	1270	17.2	10.1	13.1	24.4
Clarke	7267	6050	1217	2330	2105	225	16.7	9.7	18.5	34.8
Craig	3315	3301	14	1080	1080	-0-	.42	-0.-	-0.-	32.7
Culpeper	14517	10662	3855	3304	2827	477	26.6	14.4	12.4	26.5
Cumberland	6966	2868	4098	1775	1475	300	58.8	16.9	7.3	51.4
Dickenson	23391	23181	210	9305	9260	45	.9	.48	21.4	39.9
Dinwiddie	20575	7866	12709	4260	3424	836	61.8	19.6	6.6	43.5
Essex	6666	3496	3170	1070	845	225	47.6	21.	7.1	24.2
Fairfax	176371	164269	12102	48580	47506	1074	6.9	2.2	8.9	28.9
Fauquier	24401	18206	6195	4120	3937	183	25.4	4.4	3.	21.6
Floyd	11580	11174	406	4538	4433	105	3.5	2.3	25.9	39.7
Fluvanna	7289	4492	2797	890	808	82	38.4	9.2	2.9	18.
Franklin	27188	23011	4177	3995	3609	386	15.4	9.7	9.2	15.7
Frederick	20400	19972	428	4265	4220	45	2.1	1.1	10.5	21.1
Giles	20090	19547	543	5001	4950	51	2.7	1.	9.4	25.3
Gloucester	11351	7942	3409	3596	2949	647	30.	18.	19.	37.1
Goochland	9280	4512	4768	2625	1950	675	51.4	25.7	14.2	43.2
Grayson	16887	15869	1018	6501	6430	71	6.	1.1	7.	40.5
Greene	5321	4641	680	1787	1700	87	12.8	4.9	12.8	36.6
Greensville	17996	7456	10540	3685	2810	875	58.6	23.7	8.3	37.7
Halifax	43418	24223	19195	6332	5750	582	44.2	9.2	3.0	23.7
Hanover	26012	18374	7638	5175	4640	535	29.4	10.3	7.	25.3
Henrico	86821	80776	6045	30813	29958	855	7.	2.8	14.1	37.1
Henry	36825	27400	9425	6621	6270	351	25.6	5.3	3.7	22.9
Highland	3811	3695	116	1257	1247	10	3.	.8	8.6	33.7
Isle of Wight	16580	7899	8681	4523	3592	931	52.4	20.6	10.7	45.5
James City	7310	4037	3333	1465	1123	342	45.2	23.3	10.3	27.8

(Continued)

②

VIRGINIA

~~Counties~~ County	1956 Population Total	White	Negro	1958 Registration Total	White	Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro	OF POP ERED	E/B % OF WHITE POP REGISTERED
King George	6636	4652	1984	1525	1200	325	29.9	21.3	16.4	7.
King & Queen	6822	3110	3712	915	565	350	54.4	38.3	9.4	18.2
King William	7949	4650	3299	1405	1100	305	41.5	21.7	9.2	23.7
Lancaster	8911	5316	3595	2075	1660	415	40.3	20.0		
Lee	30363	30013	350	12311	12183	128	1.2	01.	36.6	40.6
Loudoun	23764	19788	3976	7919	7498	421	16.7	5.3	10.6	37.9
Louisa	13550	8181	5369	2464	2085	379	39.6	15.4	7.1	25.5
Lunenburg	14925	8134	6791	2660	2200	460	45.5	17.3	6.8	27.
Madison	8784	6621	2163	2110	1985	125	24.6	5.9	5.8	30.
Mathews	6900	4981	1919	1675	1475	200	27.8	11.9	10.4	29.6
Mecklenburg	33810	17220	16590	5880	5250	630	49.1	10.7	3.8	30.5
Middlesex	6971	4049	2922	1206	1003	203	41.9	16.8	6.9	24.8
Montgomery	32171	30647	1524	6530	6100	430	4.7	6.6	28.2	19.9
Nansemond	28554	10081	18473	4247	2909	1338	64.7	31.5	7.2	28.9
Nelson	14248	10229	4019	3444	3078	366	28.2	10.6	9.1	30.1
New Kent	4237	1925	2312	1182	808	374	54.6	31.6	16.2	42.
Norfolk	10428	54110	16318	8040	6739	1301	23.2	18.2	8.	12.5
Northampton	17861	8085	9776	2795	2275	520	54.7	18.6	5.3	28.1
Northumberland	9594	5391	4203	4550	3070	1480	43.8	32.5	35.2	56.9
Nottoway	15964	8921	7043	3220	2655	565	44.1	17.5	8.	29.8
Orange	13589	10208	3381	2531	2274	257	24.9	10.2	7.6	22.3
Page	15550	15043	507	6010	5900	110	3.3	1.8	21.7	39.2
Patrick	16307	14999	1308	3980	3900	80	8.	2.	6.1	26.0
Pittsylvania	60674	38597	22077	6918	6425	493	36.4	7.1	2.2	16.6
Powhatan	5823	3534	2289	1796	1365	431	39.3	24.	18.8	38.6
Prince Edward	15993	9259	6734	3450	2750	700	42.1	20.3	10.4	29.7
Prince George	22134	16389	5745	2246	1819	427	26.	19.	7.4	11.1
Princess Anne	77104	64438	12666	316573	15158	1415	16.4	8.5	11.2	23.5
Prince William	28840	25852	2988	4205	3851	354	10.4	8.4	11.8	14.9
Pulaski	30357	28284	2073	8077	7572	505	6.8	6.3	24.4	26.8
Rappahannock	5839	4875	964	2360	2150	210	16.5	8.9	21.8	44.1
Richmond	6136	3885	2251	1255	970	285	36.7	22.7	12.7	25.
Roanoke	50123	46565	3558	19435	18647	788	7.1	4.1	22.1	40.
Rockbridge	25054	23013	2041	5179	4834	345	8.1	6.7	16.9	21.
Rockingham	39544	38928	616	7933	7855	78	1.6	.98	12.7	20.2
Russell	27858	27161	697	7052	6963	89	2.5	1.3	12.8	25.6
Scott	28398	28134	264	6360	6320	40	.93	.63	15.2	22.5
Shenandoah	21651	21240	411	6260	6205	55	1.9	.88	13.4	29.2
Smyth	30822	30283	539	8022	7931	91	1.7	1.1	16.9	26.2
Southampton	27038	11161	15877	4155	3630	525	58.7	12.6	3.3	32.5
Spotsylvania	13770	10685	3085	3900	3500	400	22.4	10.3	13.	32.8
Stafford	14235	12430	1805	3285	2940	345	12.7	10.5	19.1	23.7
Surry	6662	2391	4271	1340	1075	265	64.1	19.8	6.2	45.
Sussex	13628	4726	8902	2910	2275	635	65.3	21.8	7.1	48.1
Tazewell	49395	46807	2588	7487	7140	347	5.2	4.6	13.4	15.3
Warren	15622	14456	1166	4090	3911	179	7.5	4.4	15.4	27.1
Washington	38308	37415	893	7864	7686	178	2.3	2.3	19.9	20.5
Westmoreland	10825	5824	5001	3543	3177	366	46.2	10.3		
Wise	48223	46918	1305	11095	11044	51	2.7	0.4		
Wythe	23075	21848	1227	12391	12131	260	5.3	2.1		
York	18635	14361	4274	3235	2715	520	22.9	16.1		

Continued

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VIRGINIA

Independent Cities	1956 Population Total	1956 Population White	1956 Population Negro	1958 Registration Total	1958 Registration White	1958 Registration Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Alexandria	85427	76767	8 660	28 046	27 175	871	10.1	3.1
Bristol	18093	16 986	1 107	3 230	3 000	230	6.1	7.2
Buena Vista	6204	5 979	225	1 124	1 093	31	3.6	2.8
Charlottesville	29975	24 616	5 359	10 638	9 467	1171	17.8	11.0
Clifton Forge	5830	4 736	1 094	2 216	2 000	216	18.7	9.7
Colonial Heights	7813	7 796	17	2 500	2 500	0	.2	0
Covington	11453	10 353	1 100	3 215	2 755	460	9.6	14.3
Danville	50006	36 824	13 182	11 450	9 893	1557	26.4	13.6
Falls Church	9752	9 592	160	3 352	3 297	55	1.6	1.6
Fredericksburg	12597	10 658	1 939	4 411	3 853	558	15.4	12.7
Galax	5423	5 094	329	1 360	1 350	10	6.1	.74
Hampton	75980	58 805	17 175	17 440	14 811	2629	22.6	15.1
Harrisonburg	12188	11 326	862	3 385	3 200	185	7.1	5.5
Hopewell	18722	16 052	2 670	4 310	4 000	310	14.3	7.2
Lynchburg	50528	39 641	10 887	20 568	17 992	2576	21.5	12.5
Martinsville	18764	13 159	5 605	3 807	3 397	410	29.8	10.8
Newport News	44778	22 355	22 423	11 369	6 626	4 743	50.1	41.7
Norfolk	291896	218 108	73 787	69 310	59 422	9 888	25.3	14.3
Norton	5139	4 714	425	1 459	1 386	73	8.3	5.0
Petersburg	35620	19 074	16 546	8 236	6 029	2 207	46.5	26.8
Portsmouth	88073	54 927	33 146	15 724	11 415	4309	37.6	27.4
Radford	9999	9 415	584	4 198	3 957	241	5.8	5.7
Richmond	240 744	152 181	88 563	68 012	55 666	12 346	36.8	18.2
Roanoke	101540	84 598	16 942	36 524	33 825	2 699	16.7	7.4
South Norfolk	24105	18 762	5 343	4 535	3 850	685	22.2	15.1
Staunton	22374	20 016	2 358	5 733	5 337	396	10.5	6.9
Suffolk	12456	7 977	4 479	3 663	2988	675	36.0	18.4
Virginia Beach	6958	6 658	300	3 714	3591	123	4.3	3.3
Warwick	58345	43411	14 934	12 419	11 116	1 303	25.6	10.5
Waynesboro	14051	13 028	1 023	4 309	4165	144	7.3	3.3
Williamsburg	7865	6 835	1 030	1 293	1173	120	13.1	9.3
Winchester	5 14 700	13 377	1 323	4 087	3996	91	9.0	2.2
STATE	3,799,174	2,981,893	817,281	944727*	852483	92172	21.5	9.8

(*Includes 72 Indians in Charles City County

7pt

Source: Secretary, State Board of Elections, January 15, 1959

Population Figures: Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, May 1957.

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THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH

A Report of a Survey by the Southern Regional Council

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INTRODUCTION

In the summer and fall of 1956, the Southern Regional Council carried out a state-by-state survey of Negro suffrage in the South. This was the third in a series of such surveys conducted by the Council, the first two having been made in 1947 and 1952. The current survey, by far the most ambitious, was prompted by a recognition of the importance of the ballot to the Negro's changing status in the South. Since the study began, the timeliness of these findings has been further enhanced by the national debate centering on the Negro's access to the ballot, the introduction of "right-to-vote" bills in Congress, and a general awareness of the significance of Negro suffrage in the whole field of race relations and desegregation.

The findings summarized in this report were gathered by social scientists in each of the twelve Southern states who served as consultants to the project. In each state, these specialists undertook to collect current figures on Negro registration, where possible county by county. Through observation, interviews, and field studies, they also sought to evaluate the barriers that still exist to the free exercise of the ballot by Negroes. As a final step, the Council related Census data on population, economic, and social factors in the Southern counties to the registration figures. This summary of the findings was prepared by the Council itself; while the consultants' reports were drawn upon, the Council alone is responsible for this report and the conclusions it presents.

The county-by-county breakdown, where available, of Negro registration figures has been made available in a separate report; only the state totals are reported here. Ultimately, these two reports, as well as other findings, will be available in a single printed publication.

For a variety of reasons, registration figures are hard to secure. Some states and counties do not record the figures separately by race; others do not make this information public. Wherever possible, official figures were used. In those instances in which official figures were not available, the most reliable estimates obtainable were used.

To obtain a complete picture of Negro registration and voting in the Southern states would require a survey of much greater proportions and duration than this one. But it may be said that the Southern Regional Council survey here reported was the most detailed and extensive as yet attempted in the South.

NEGRO REGISTRATION--PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE

During the past decade, Negro registration has climbed steadily, if gradually. Today, there are at least 1,238,000 Negroes on voting rolls in the Southern states.

This figure, based on the estimated number of registrants at the time of the 1956 general election, represents a gain of 229,400 over the 1,008,614 registered in 1952, which in turn was a 413,600 increase over the 595,000 registered in 1947.

Despite this growth, the current figure represents only about 25 per cent of the 4,980,000 Negroes of voting age in the region, as compared to a 60 per cent registration among eligible white Southerners.[1]

It should be observed at the outset that accurate registration figures are difficult to obtain. Voting lists often are out of date, bearing names of dead and non-resident citizens, and race frequently is recorded in a haphazard fashion. The figures used in this survey are based on information from voting officials, registration records, county-by-county reports, and interviews with informed observers.

The Negro registration figures used probably are more accurate than the white. Officials tend to keep a closer check on Negro registrants and they are more subject to periodic purges. Moreover, names of white registrants may have been on the books 50 years, whereas Negroes have been enfranchised only for 10 or 12; thus, it is far more likely that the white rolls are inflated and contain the names of those moved or deceased.

In Georgia, for example, 63 of the state's 159 counties reported to the Secretary of State in 1956 white registration totals which exceed the white population of voting age.[2] Calhoun County represented the extreme, reporting 187 per cent of its eligible white population on the voting rolls.

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[1] Population figures are based on the 1950 Census.

Based then on the best estimates available, Texas leads the region in the number of Negroes registered--214,000--followed by Georgia with 163,389 and Louisiana with 161,410. The latter shows the greatest gain--41,410--since 1952; also, Negroes make up 18 per cent of the total registration in Louisiana, the highest among Southern states.

Only in Mississippi did Negro registration level off, or perhaps decline, in the past four years. The latest estimate of Negro registrants was made in 1955; 20,000 is the figure generally agreed upon for that year, about the same as two years earlier. Governor J. P. Coleman, however, estimated Negro registration in 1954 at 22,000. Some observers feel that the number has remained static at best, and others believe there has been a sharp drop.

On the other hand, the State Times of Jackson, Miss. surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 and concluded, "Throughout the state, Negro registrations were expected to be up over 1952, even though total Negro population is down." That the increase is negligible is demonstrated by the following figures released in the State Times survey:

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1952
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Marion	4,103	500	100
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Smith	1,400	13	1
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Tunica	9,123	38	3
*Wilkinson	4,558	55	50
Benton	1,749	35	35
*Issaquena	1,790	0	0
*Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Choctaw	1,482	13	18
Covington	2,354	440	311
Itawamba	470	36	12

(* Counties with over 50 per cent Negro population)

[2] In addition, 33 Georgia counties reported white registration representing 90 to 99 per cent of white population of voting age and 27 counties a white registration of from 80 to 89 per cent of the eligible. Only three counties reported Negro registration in excess of 100 per cent of the Negro eligibles, two from 90 to 99 per cent, and five 80 to 89 per cent.

What are the prospects for Negro voting in the South generally? Survey consultants feel there will be a continuation of the steady progress of the past few years, particularly as economic and educational opportunities increase.

Of course, as the number of Negro registrants has been increasing numerically, so has the white. Unless the pace is accelerated, it still will be many years before the registration record of Negroes approaches that of the white South.

Many factors will determine the speed with which Negroes progress toward their goal of political equality. Not the last of these is the attitude of the white community, which is subject to increasing scrutiny. In this regard, John Herbers of the United Press wrote (Jackson, Miss., October 20, 1956):

"Bars against Negro voting, against his right to participate in the functions of government is the point outsiders always find the most shocking about the Southern way of life despite its sanction by white officials all the way to the top.

"Mississippi has been successful in selling racial segregation to some outsiders. A great many Northerners can understand why Southern whites fear things like intermarriage and social mixing. But they look at voting in a different light."

Because of the spotlight of public opinion--both at home and abroad--on the South, and in the wake of federal court decisions on segregation, attitudes of white citizens in the region are changing. Many are hardening their lines of resistance and the resulting tension, conflict, and violence make daily headlines. But there is another South which is changing gradually and quietly. In the Spring of 1956, the Southern Regional Council, with the financial aid of the Fund for the Republic, surveyed progress toward integration in all fields during the two-year period following the Supreme Court school decision of May 17, 1954. It found nearly 1,100 instances of desegregation almost equally divided between five border states and 12 Southern states.

It is this "other South" which holds much promise for the political future of Negro citizens. It can create a favorable climate of opinion which will encourage more Negroes to exercise their basic right to vote. It can allow white candidates to seek Negro votes openly, which in turn will encourage others to qualify.

Leadership also will play an important role in the future of Negro voting. Its continued improvement promises a growing awareness of the value of the ballot. More and more Negroes are spreading the word that "A voteless people is a voiceless people." As Negro spokesmen in one Georgia county said in substance:

"If we don't register and vote, we can't get benefits which are comparable to those received by whites--or comparable to our needs. We want to be full-fledged citizens with a voice in local, state and national government. We want to protect our rights as citizens and be respected when we go downtown."

Finally, the influence of the federal government on the future of Negro voting cannot be ignored. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made "routine" checks of some election procedures in parts of the South, presumably with an eye to possible civil rights violations. Prior to the 1956 presidential election, the U. S. Attorney General ordered the criminal division of the Justice Department and the FBI to maintain a watch at the polls on election day to deal with violations of federal laws. It can be assumed that such announcements make an impression on both white and Negro citizens.

The prospect for Negro voting in several of the states as summed up by the field consultants follows:

NORTH CAROLINA: "Increasing registration by Negroes but not in tremendous numbers... The counties that now restrict Negro registration increasingly will use more legal and sophisticated tactics to neutralize the political effectiveness of the Negro... Regardless of what methods may be used, the Negro is becoming more important politically as direct restrictions on his franchise decline. Many of the registrars who emphasize these restrictive tactics are old and are dying out."

LOUISIANA: "Unless the Citizens Council enjoys unexpected success in its purgative efforts, it would seem that Negro registration and voting have become a permanent feature of the Louisiana political landscape.... In the parishes (counties) where subterfuge is necessary to discourage registration, there is likely to be a registration breakthrough in the not too distant future. In these parishes, where there is a history of suppression, the Negro is quite anxious to obtain the suffrage... In the Mississippi Delta parishes where no Negroes are registered, the prospects are bleak for registration in the immediate future... The urban parishes represent a great untapped reservoir of Negro votes which can be registered with a minimum of difficulty."

SOUTH CAROLINA: "Notwithstanding the obstacles that are standing in the way of the Negro's complete political freedom, there is evidence that he is on the move politically. This can be attributed to the new kind of leadership found among the Negroes today."

ALABAMA: While the State Consultant feels that "the future of Negro voting looks brighter," there still are forces at work in Alabama which make a major increase, particularly in the black belt, seem unlikely in the immediate future.

TEXAS: "The Negro is on the way toward becoming a major political force... The school integration question, although not actually a political issue, is looming large in Texas politics. This gives Negroes a greater sense of political responsibility and the change is beginning to show its effects."

VIRGINIA: "The greatest threat to the increase of the suffrage at present time is the current attack on the NAACP by the state and local governments... On the other hand, there are prospects of increasing Negro participation in politics as revealed by the following facts:... A number of counties have centralized registration in the past three or four years. Where these registrars are functioning, there has been a great reduction in the number of discriminatory complaints.... Older, often biased registrars... are dying out or being replaced by younger persons, better educated and less biased.... Political consciousness is growing among Negroes."

GEORGIA: "The statistical and field studies support the idea that progress of Negro suffrage is made in urbanized and industrialized communities. This is one of the most encouraging factors in terms of the future of Negro suffrage... Georgia is now reaching the break-through point in the distribution of its population toward the urban places of residence. Furthermore, agriculture as a source of income continues to give way to manufacturing and to other sources of income. Thus, the socio-economic trends in the state are in the direction of the kinds of situations in which Negroes are more likely to be registrants and voters."

FLORIDA: "Negro leaders are quite capable of increasing the Negro voting potential. They have been devoting much time and energy to the struggle against Jim-Crowism, especially as it relates to the public schools and public transportation and have not had much time or energy left to devote to political education and encouragement.... They are now launching a determined drive to educate the Negro to his suffrage responsibilities."

TABLE 1

NEGRO REGISTRATION

STATE	1947	1952	1956
ALABAMA	6,000	25,224	53,366
ARKANSAS	47,000	61,413	69,677
FLORIDA	49,000	120,900	148,703
GEORGIA	125,000	144,835	163,389
LOUISIANA	10,000	120,000	161,410
MISSISSIPPI	5,000	20,000	20,000*
NORTH CAROLINA	75,000	100,000	135,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	50,000	80,000	99,890
TENNESSEE	80,000	85,000	90,000
TEXAS	100,000	181,916	214,000
VIRGINIA	48,000	69,326	82,603
TOTALS	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038

* Mississippi totals are for 1955.

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the Citizens Council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro Southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night--these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

The Alabama Consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his state. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the Board of Registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass--with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only six were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the "black belt" section of the state, so called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over

50 per cent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires three or four times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local Citizens Council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the Board of Registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past two years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about two per cent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

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[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

In a black belt county which is somewhat less than 50 per cent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters drive in Choctaw County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the state: added questions about government. They might ask on what date the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the fourteenth state to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a state? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the Board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the Board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on Section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about five to one; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have registered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April, 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the Board of Registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for two of the three members resigned and it takes at least two to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

In North Carolina, as in other states with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State Board of Elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

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[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama, (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama.)

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May, 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the state constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not "satisfy the registrar."

But there are counties throughout the state, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the state constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to "prove" his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens Council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (Oct. 12, 1956) that members of the Citizens Council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Sen. William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, Council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 per cent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out "colored" on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C", the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a Citizens Council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged two weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of Route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a Southerner born and raised right here in Central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any Southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls... I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On Feb. 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Atty. Gen. Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil rights proposals.[3]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October, "There were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

[3] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1957.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman Celler that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October, 1956, by White Citizens Councils in Louisiana and other Southern states to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "The following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058, and Union, 600.

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 per cent Negro none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his "happiness" and "allowed" that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana parishes, all counties with populations over 50 per cent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana Consultant said, "Subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November, 1956, Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative "watch dog" committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a federal court action."

In South Carolina, the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the state constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered, they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites--10,449 to 4,304--has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina County, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered, (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites) an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have "lost" them.

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the state usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes--to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that state, nevertheless, it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia "capitation tax" they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll tax bills along with their property tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other states turn up here and there in the state, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are "busy" or "ill" or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing Southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only four, and 10 years later only two. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties, Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

COUNTY	NEGRO POPULATION OVER 21	NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	64
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	5
Liberty	333	18.3	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	91

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the state, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation--cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterwards."

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various sub-regional areas of the state. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the "hard core" of the state in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 per cent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 per cent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early county, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the Court House to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the Board of Registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the Court House for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the Court House square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of four Negroes--two men and two women, one of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the "so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose but what it is, I don't know."

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the state dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other states were found here. Where other sections usually rely on one or two means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the state which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only four per cent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50 per cent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the three elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and three had one registered who never voted. In the seven counties having more than 60 per cent Negro population, two votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonbly be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the state.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused and in November, 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a trouble maker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts' shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the state after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shootings. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the state's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary--long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five states retain the poll tax--Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern states based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

ALABAMA: In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of 1951 provides: "The following persons....shall be qualified to register....those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the Board of Registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that...each applicant shall be furnished...a written questionnaire.... Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the Board without assistance..."

GEORGIA: A registrant must be able to read correctly in English "any paragraph" of the state or U. S. Constitution and "correctly write the same" when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of "physical inability" may qualify if they can "understand" and give a "reasonable" interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the state on which an elector resides or property in the state assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

MISSISSIPPI: In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the state's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

VIRGINIA: Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the one year next proceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the state, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

SOUTH CAROLINA: A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the state constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the state assessed at $300 or more.

ARKANSAS: Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, non-cumulative poll tax is the only requirement for the voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the state.

LOUISIANA: A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the state or U. S. Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the "principles" of the Louisiana and U. S. constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

NORTH CAROLINA: Prospective voters must be able to "read and write" any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a state with a "literacy" law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice--or prejudice.

Socio-economic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any Southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the state average, 69 per cent show Negro registration above the state median; 68 per cent of the counties above the state average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro--80 per cent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the state median in the number of school years completed, 89 per cent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 per cent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the state figure of $1,130, 61 per cent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 per cent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 per cent are high in Negro registration, as constrasted with 58 per cent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the state average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 per cent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the state average in tenancy, 63 per cent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

Kentucky 150,526*

*Estimated number of Negroes of voting age in 1956. Minimum voting age in Kentucky is now 18.

ARKANSAS

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950
Total Population over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1955
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1955 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	Percent Potential Negroes Voters Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Arkansas	2934	995	33.9	23.3
Ashley	5062	1361	26.9	38.0
Baxter	3	0		0.1
Benton	43	5	11.6	0.2
Boone	--	0		
Bradley	2744	1210	44.1	33.7
Calhoun	1277	844	66.1	34.4
Carroll	13	2	15.4	0.2
Chicot	6924	2588	37.4	54.6
Clark	3228	1067	33.1	27.3
Clay	6	0	—	—
Cleburne	2	0		
Cleveland	1061	371	35.0	24.4
Columbia	5603	957	17.1	39.1
Conway	2196	1527	69.5	23.6
Craighead	~~6944~~ 998	292	4.2	3.1
Crawford	414	21	5.1	2.9
Crittenden	16495	1352	8.2	66.8
Cross	4041	723	17.9	32.2
Dallas	2504	1033	41.3	39.2
Desha	6511	2518	38.7	48.0
Drew	3118	1038	33.3	33.7
Faulkner	1480	430	29.1	11.2
Franklin	91	23	25.3	1.6
Fulton	5	0		0.1
Garland	3751	2520	67.2	11.9
Grant	370	231	62.4	8.2
Greene	40	5	12.5	0.2
Hempstead	5244	1452	27.7	40.8
Hot Spring	1575	717	45.5	12.9
Howard	1406	460	32.7	20.5
Independence	407	100	24.6	2.8
Izard	62	27	43.6	1.0
Jackson	2067	1215	58.8	14.5
Jefferson	21174	5774	27.3	49.8
Johnson	144	18	12.5	1.5
Lafayette	3004	1033	34.4	45.2
Lawrence	164	67	40.9	1.3

Arkansas

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Lee	7572	1610		
Lincoln	4808	1391	21.3	59.4
Little River	2107	782	28.9	53.3
Logan	209	183	37.1	33.7
Lonoke	3267	805	87.6	2.5
Madison	9	5	24.6	24.4
Marion	--	--	55.6	0.1
Miller	5000	1840		
Mississippi	11975	3915	36.8	27.0
Monroe	4930	1031	32.7	26.9
Montgomery	24	15	20.9	48.8
Nevada	2578	825	62.5	0.5
Newton	1	0	32.0	36.0
Ouachita	7020	2500		
Perry	133	65	35.6	40.9
Phillips	15226	3561	48.9	4.1
Pike	294	86	23.4	59.7
Poinsett	1754	195	29.3	4.9
Polk	9	0	11.1	8.3
Pope	426	150		0.1
Prairie	1192	900	35.2	3.1
Pulaski	28881	8364	75.5	16.4
Randolph	102	57	29.0	24.0
St. Francis	10734	2300	55.9	1.0
Saline	974	413	21.4	57.4
Scott	94	45	42.4	5.6
Searcy	3	0	47.9	1.3
Sebastian	2678	661		
Sevier	610	235	24.7	6.7
Sharp	5	3	38.5	9.6
Stone	3	0	60.0	0.1
Union	8434	2570		0.1
Van Buren	59	31	30.5	31.9
Washington	309	40	52.5	1.2
White	726	288	12.9	0.9
Woodruff	3549	954	39.7	3.5
Yell	335	55	26.9	37.6
			16.4	3.9

FLORIDA

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Population over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

✓ ✓

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Alachua	9,430	3,153	33.4	29.0
Baker	818	361	44.1	24.5
Bay	4,028	2,012	50.0	16.8
Bradford	1,408	859	61.0	24.4
Brevard	3,544	2,160	60.9	25.4
Broward	12,234	6,958	56.9	25.4
Calhoun	594	231	38.9	14.1
Charlotte	469	268	57.1	15.7
Citrus	879	580	66.0	25.4
Clay	1,230	1,193	96.5	14.7
Collier	1,402	741	52.9	30.6
Columbia	3,357	1,645	49.0	33.6
Dade	42,682	19,048	44.6	13.2
DeSoto	1,229	807	65.8	21.7
Dixie	387	181	46.8	14.3
Duval	55,832	27,368	49.0	26.9
Escambia	14,521	6,733	46.4	22.3
Flagler	872	64	7.3	45.6
Franklin	904	521	57.6	25.7
Gadsden	10,930	5	0.1	56.1
Gilchrist	203	29	14.3	9.9
Glades	584	262	44.9	40.8
Gulf	1,129	481	42.6	26.9
Hamilton	1,983	507	25.6	42.2
Hardee	404	375	92.8	7.4
Hendry	1,034	135	13.1	26.1
Hernando	869	622	71.6	23.0
Highlands	2,054	1,243	60.5	25.4
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856	35.5	15.3
Holmes	326	130	39.9	4.4
Indian River	1,764	427	24.2	24.9
Jackson	5,843	3,430	58.7	33.4
Jefferson	3,272	183	5.6	62.5
Lafayette	176	-0-		9.4
Lake	5,110	1,363	26.7	23.5
Lee	3,017	1,818	60.3	20.1
Leon	11,213	4,046	36.1	39.5
Leva	2,107	603	28.6	33.9
Liberty	~~333~~	1		18.3
Madison	3,153	1,010	32.0	45.6
Manatee	4,425	1,686	38.1	22.8
Marion	8,387	4,324	51.6	38.2

Florida

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Martin	1,374	706	51.4	[illegible]
Monroe	2,043	1,652	80.9	10.8
Nassau	2,123	1,223	57.6	31.3
Okaloosa	1,177	606	51.5	8.0
Okeechobee	406	348	85.7	18.6
Orange	14,321	3,137	21.9	19.8
Osceola	958	358	37.4	13.1
Palm Beach	22,253	6,520	29.3	30.3
Pasco	1,713	624	36.4	13.5
Pinellas	12,118	3,477	28.7	11.8
Polk	15,492	4,989	32.2	20.6
Putnam	5,199	1,770	34.0	36.5
St. Johns	5,053	2,051	40.6	33.3
St. Lucie	3,732	1,813	48.6	31.7
Santa Rosa	928	730	78.7	8.5
Sarasota	2,896	7[illegible]3	27.0	16.0
Seminole	6,881	2,242	32.6	44.4
Sumter	1,703	790	46.4	26.9
Swannee	2,606	565	21.7	29.3
Taylor	1,945	91	4.7	30.5
Union	2,453	6	0.2	36.3
Volusia	10,415	5,761	55.3	22.1
Wakulla	833	345	41.4	30.9
Walton	1,051	954	90.8	13.3
Washington	1,056	743	70.4	17.8

Add notes

GEORGIA

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950
Total Population over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

✓ ✓

County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Appling	1356	1068	79.0	18.6
Atkinson	897	408	45.0	22.4
Bacon	558	8	1.0	11.9
Baker	1819	0	0	61.0
Baldwin	8461	2487	29.0	39.9
Banks	229	32	14.0	5.8
Barrow	1235	413	33.0	17.9
Bartow	2404	702	29.0	14.7
Ben Hill	2659	918	34.0	32.0
Berrien	1107	738	67.0	13.9
Bibb	25993	5140	20.0	35.8
Bleckley	1588	39	2.0	31.1
Brantley	451	175	39.0	12.3
Brooks	4693	707	15.0	49.0
Bryan	1269	885	70.0	39.6
Bulloch	4755	1795	38.0	36.9
Burke	8797	399	4.0	71.3
Butts	2168	1414	65.0	45.6
Calhoun	3232	126	4.0	67.5
Camden	2062	1556	76.0	50.7
Candler	1494	1174	78.0	34.6
Carroll	3578	939	26.0	19.5
Catoosa	183	129	70.0	2.1
Charlton	772	12	1.0	28.7
Chatham	38272	9720	25.0	38.6
Chattahoochee	1510	8	0.5	15.6
Chattooga	1030	1020	99.0	9.3
Cherokee	473	320	68.0	4.0
Clarke	6249	2866	46.0	27.2
Clay	2148	97	4.0	69.7
Clayton	2070	275	13.0	16.6
Clinch	1222	422	34.0	35.0
Cobb	3935	1948	49.0	10.1
Coffee	3133	980	31.0	24.2
Colquitt	4409	1047	24.0	23.6
Columbia	2451	487	20.0	47.9
Cook	1861	750	40.0	27.7
Coweta	5788	1348	23.0	37.6
Crawford	1806	125	7.0	57.7
Crisp	4390	835	19.0	43.9
Dade	72	45	62.0	2.1
Dawson	0	0	0	0
Decatur	6231	895	14.0	46.4

Georgia

County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Dekalb	8694	2650	30.0	10.6
Dodge	2863	2068	72.0	30.3
Dooly	3887	1008	26.0	53.0
Dougherty	11773	2130	18.0	42.9
Douglas	1020	730	72.0	16.3
Early	4790	226	5.0	52.9
Echols	379	15	4.0	29.1
Effingham	1838	211	11.0	37.9
~~Elbert~~	3371	~~986~~	29.0	33.5
Emanuel	3597	1657	46.0	35.1
Evans	1340	494	37.0	37.1
Fannin	47	63	134.0	0.5
Fayette	1261	11	1.0	31.9
Floyd	6046	2730	45.0	14.8
Forsyth	25	20	80.0	0.5
Franklin	970	300	31.0	12.5
Fulton	99347	24441	25.0	30.7
Gilmer	14	6	43.0	0.2
Glascock	470	21	4.0	26.8
Glynn	6069	2185	36.0	32.0
Gordon	641	348	54.0	5.8
Grady	3442	527	15.0	33.9
Greene	3548	2586	73.0	51.6
Gwinnett	1751	1000	57.0	9.4
Habersham	381	300	79.0	3.7
Hall	2357	1421	60.0	9.8
Hancock	4094	1850	45.0	72.8
Haralson	721	319	44.0	8.6
Harris	3380	275	8.0	56.6
Hart	1803	327	18.0	24.6
Heard	867	388	45.0	26.5
Henry	3657	1529	42.0	44.6
Houston	3835	443	11.0	35.2
Irwin	2171	800	37.0	36.1
Jackson	1571	436	28.0	15.5
Jasper	2327	570	24.0	56.5
Jeff Davis	1034	42	4.0	20.9
Jefferson	5588	237	4.0	57.5
Jenkins	2899	891	30.0	53.6
Johnson	1717	416	24.0	33.6
Jones	2223	536	20.0	55.0
Lamar	2230	673	30.0	40.7
Lanier	926	473	51.0	31.4
Laurens	7298	3537	48.0	40.2
Lee	~~2456~~	[illegible]	1.0	71.3

Georgia

County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Liberty	2825	2453	87.0	61.2
Lincoln	1614	3	0.2	48.9
Long	695	1061	153.0	34.7
Lowndes	8350	2767	33.0	40.8
Lumpkin	82	73	89.0	2.1
Macon	2914	141	3.0	45.3
Madison	2056	126	11.0	61.1
Marion	4821	54	3.0	66.1
McDuffie	1158	356	12.0	19.1
McIntosh	1879	1197	58.0	59.2
Meriwether	5727	1207	21.0	50.9
Miller	1372	6	0.4	29.8
Mitchell	5955	345	6.0	50.3
Monroe	2885	737	25.0	50.9
Montgomery	1613	887	49.0	40.5
Morgan	3264	738	23.0	52.0
Murray	96	28	29.0	1.6
Muscogee	20031	9987	50.0	26.1
Newton	3860	1539	40.0	33.1
Oconee	932	446	48.0	26.0
Oglethorpe	2201	229	10.0	43.3
Paulding	602	418	69.0	10.6
Peach	4270	640	15.0	61.3
Pickens	255 ~~225~~	80	31.0	4.6
Pierce	1295	425	33.0	21.6
Pike	1915	372	19.0	45.9
Polk	2795	1390	50.0	16.0
Pulaski	2371	248	10.0	49.6
Putnam	2295	531	23.0	55.5
Quitman	1005	45	4.0	66.3
Rabun	71	17	24.0	1.3
Randolph	4971	473	9.0	65.5
Richmond	23694	5372	23.0	33.8
Rockdale	1322	563	42.0	29.3
Schley	1184	134	11.0	59.3
Screven	5146	729	14.0	56.4
Seminole	1631	22	1.0	38.4
Spalding	5075	1151	23.0	27.5
Stephens	1268	514	40.0	13.0
Stewart	3463 ~~4363~~	68	2.0	72.5
Sumter	7441	485	6.0	55.0
Talbot	2757	210	8.0	69.7
Taliaferro	1575	888	56.0	65,8
Tattnall	2384	1681	70.0	25.7
Taylor	2233	325	14.0	47.8
Telfair	2375	101	4.0	32.4
Terrell	5054	105	2.0	67.2

Georgia

County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Thomas	8246	1700	21.0	40.9
Tift	3576	913	25.0	28.3
Toombs	2631	155	6.0	27.5
Towns	3	0	0	0.1
Treutlen	1041	18	2.0	29.7
Troup	9423	2036	22.0	32.3
Turner	2009	418	21.0	37.0
Twiggs	2593	354	14.0	61.9
Union	0	0	0	0
Upson	3822	542	14.0	26.4
Walker	1389	1136	82.0	6.1
Walton	3236	598	18.0	31.1
Ware	4979	1298 998	40.0	26.5
Warren	2836	200	7.0	63.9
Washington	6387	1363	21.0	56.7
Wayne	1644	1448	88.0	19.7
Webster	1313	0	0	63.9
Wheeler	1101	476	43.0	30.5
White	192	189	98.0	5.8
Whitfield	859	251	111.0	4.1
Wilcox	1841	258	14.0	34.7
Wilkes	3748	263	7.0	55.7
Wilkinson	2621	327	12.0	48.5
Worth	4837	322	7.0	43.6

Add notes

KENTUCKY

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____

Total Nonwhite Population over 18, 1956 ____

Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956 ✓	Negroes Registered 1956 ✓	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Adair	657	550	83.7	5.3
Allen	187	125	66.8	1.8
Anderson	313	250	79.9	5.2
Ballard	398	380	70.4	6.2
Barren	1505	867	57.6	7.8
Bath	368	300	81.5	5.2
Bell	1173	845	72.0	3.4
Boone	135	69	51.1	1.4
Bourbon	1976	1000	50.6	15.4
Boyd	720	300	41.7	1.8
Boyle	1920	705	36.7	12.5
Bracken	98	363	370.4	1.6
Breathitt	56	13	23.2	0.4
Breckinridge	463	451	97.4	4.3
Bullitt	202	72	35.7	2.5
Butler	111	41	36.9	1.3
Caldwell	763	250	32.8	7.7
Calloway	575	350	60.9	4.0
Campbell	1043	829	79.5	1.3
Carlisle	82	50	61.0	1.7
Carroll	187	160	85.6	3.1
Carter	29	10	34.5	0.1
Casey	42	15	35.7	0.4
Christian	7072	3759	53.2	23.4
Clark	1343	851	63.4	9.9
Clay	306	87	28.4	2.1
Clinton	40	20	50.0	0.5
Crittendon	98	81	71.4	1.2
Cumberland	408	304	74.5	6.2
Daviess	2141	1125	52.5	5.1
Edmonson	84	45	53.6	1.4
Elliot	----	----	0	0
Estill	64	45	70.3	0.5
Fayette	12719	5622	44.2	17.3
Fleming	255	260	102.0	3.0
Floyd	427	350	82.0	1.2
Franklin	2022	851	42.1	9.5
Fulton	1578	1100	69.7	17.1
Gallatin	64	40	62.5	2.6
Garrard	759	525	69.2	9.3
Grant	64	40	62.5	0.8
Graves	1293	1006	77.8	5.6
Grayson	62	42	67.7	0.5
Green	509	275	54.0	6.6
Greenup	115	262	22.8	0.7
Hancock	114	27	23.7	3.1
Hardin	2441	450	18.4	5.8

Kentucky

6

County	Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Harlan	~~3620~~	3500	96.7	7.6
Harrison	478	150	31.4	4.8
Hart	993	500	50.4	9.5
Henderson	2562	1478	57.7	11.5
Henry	608	400	65.8	7.6
Hickman	602	450	74.8	12.1
Hopkins	2654	1800	67.8	9.5
Jackson	2	---	0	--
Jefferson	49000	25000	51.0	12.9
Jessamine	818	450	55.0	9.4
Johnson	2	---	0	---
Kenton	3238	2100	64.9	3.8
Knott	110	225	204.5	0.8
Knox	383	200	52.2	1.7
Larue	366	400	109.3	5.5
Laurel	189	220	116.4	1.1
Lawrence	57	30	52.6	0.5
Lee	24	15	62.5	0.4
Leslie	9	5	55.6	0.1
Letcher	772	805	104.3	3.0
Lewis	25	15	60.0	0.2
Lincoln	777	515	66.3	5.6
Livingston	82	41	50.0	1.5
Logan	1769	1200	67.8	11.4
Lyon	624	150	24.0	10.7
Madison	2048	1650	80.6	12.2
Magoffin	10	3	30.0	0.2
Marion	1021	700	68.6	1.0
Marshall	14	4	28.6	8.8
Martin	---	---	0	0.1
Mason	1350	1000	74.1	8.0
McCracken	4450 4451	2036	45.7	0.1
McCreary	24	15	62.5	- -
McLean	78	28	35.9	10.0
Meade	212	159	75.0	3.4
Menifee	12	5	41.7	0.4
Mercer	731	590	80.7	6.9
Metcalf	304	302	99.3	4.3
Monroe	271	310	114.4	2.7
Montgomery	937	540	57.6	10.1
Morgan	2	---	0	- -
Mohlenberg	1140	900	78.9	5.0
Nelson	1095	700	63.9	8.2
Nickolas	210	168	80.0	3.9
Ohio	284	180	63.4	1.9
Oldham	967	500	51.7	11.0
Owen	284	100	35.2	4.2
Owsley	45	15	33.3	0.5
Pendelton	71	50	70.4	1.0
Perry	990	700	70.7	3.3
Pike	837	500	59.7	1.5
Powell	93	140	150.5	[illegible]

Kentucky

County	Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Pulaski	565	500	88.5	2.0
Robertson	24	15	62.5	1.1
Rockcastle	13	10	76.9	0.1
Rowan	11	4	36.4	0.1
Russell	99	40	40.4	1.1
Scott	1283	900	70.1	11.8
Shelby	1573	1000	63.6	13.0
Simpson	1042	350	33.6	12.9
Spencer	261	125	47.9	5.7
Taylor	726	550	75.8	7.4
Todd	1568	1500	95.7	17.7
Trigg	1002	800	79.8	14.9
Trimble	12	6	50.0	0.2
Union	936	700	74.8	9.3
Warren	3469	2500	72.1	10.4
Washington	826	296	35.8	10.2
Wayne	279	326	116.8	2.7
Webster	1140	400	35.1	9.8
Whitley	140	90	64.3	0.6
Wolfe	6	5	83.3	0.1
Woodford	1325	850	64.2	15.0

LOUISIANA

~~Total Population, 1950~~ ____
~~Percent Nonwhite, 1950~~ ____
~~Total Population Over 21, 1950~~
~~Total Negro Population Over 21, 1956~~ ____
Total Negro Registration, 1956

~~Total Voter Registration, 1956~~
~~Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956~~ ____
~~Percent Potential Voters Registered~~ ____
~~Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered~~ ____

Parish	Estimated Negro population over 21 1956 ✓	Negroes Registered 1956 ✓	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Acadia	4500	3448	76.6	19.1
Allen	2470	1811	73.3	24.2
Ascension	4180	1926	46.1	35.4
Assumption	3380	1992	58.9	41.8
Avoyelles	4810	1960	40.7	26.1
Reauregard	1940	1120	57.7	17.0
Bienville	3980	587	14.8	49.2
Bossier	8020	495	6.2	34.7
Caddo	43770	5500	12.6	37.6
Calcasieu	14990	6244	41.9	23.0
Caldwell	1430	450	31.5	28.5
Cameron	250	236	94.4	9.3
Catahoula	2070	330	15.9	35.1
Claiborne	5980	17	0.3	51.7
Concordia	4560	587	12.9	59.3
De Soto	6480	762	11.8	59.6
East Eaton Rouge	40700	8629	21.2	33.1
East Carroll	5150	0	0	61.1
East Feliciana	6390	1361	21.3	58.2
Evangeline	3290	3262	99.1	23.9
Franklin	5070	650	12.8	36.7
Grant	1680	864	51.4	24.2
Iberia	7130	4225	59.2	32.4
Iberville	7110	2411	33.9	48.9
Jackson	2240	1113	49.7	29.8
Jefferson	13690	6097	44.5	15.7
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690	58.5	21.6
Lafayette	8980	4549	50.6	27.2
Lafourche La Fourche	2950	1572	53.2	13.5
La Salle	860	742	86.3	11.2
Lincoln	5420	1166	21.5	40.2
Livingston	1630	1162	71.3	14.7
Madison	6100	0	0	66.2
Morehouse	8590	935	10;9	48.2
Natchitoches	8350	2954	35.4	44.9
Orleans	124600	31880	25.6	32.0
Ouachita	16400	5782	35.3	33.0
Plaquemines	2840	49	1.7	38.7
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319	23.6	53.7
Rapides	20500	3160	15.4	33.2
Red River	2600	1512	58.1	50.0
Richland	5230	740	14.1	41.0
Sabine	2190	1385	63.2	20.6
Saint Bernard	1140	802	70.3	14.6
Saint Charles	2350	1949	82.9	32.6
Saint Helena	2170	1694	77.9	53.1

Louisiana

~~Total Population, 19~~

Parish	Negro population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Saint James	3740	2117	56.6	50.3
Saint John The Baptist	3730) ~~)~~	2426))	65.0	49.9
Saint Landry	16500	13050	79.1	44.6
Saint Martin	7820	2668)	58.7	37.0
Saint Mary	4400	2583)	34.1	38.3
Saint Tammany	4450	1997	44.9	29.4
Tangipahoa	9550	3749	39.2	31.2
Tensas	4500	0	0	64.8
Terrebonne	5880	980	16.7	24.6
Union	3160	1600	50.6	34.6
Vermillion	2390	1916	80.2	12.7
Vernon	1470	891	60.6	11.7
Washington	6520	1806	27.7	31.5
Webster	6940	1769	25.5	36.5
West Baton Rouge	3530	1017	28.8	53.2
West Carroll	1420	292	20.6	18.1
West Feliciana	4000	0	0	71.2
Winn	2480	1430	57.7	27.4

North Carolina

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Population Over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Alamance	6897	3300	47.8	18.5
Alexander	516		**--	7.1
Alleghany	147		----	3.3
Anson	6143	1560	25.4	48.6
Ashe	154		----	-1.3
Avery	151		----	1.5
Beaufort	7066	200	2.8	37.3
Bertie	7016	400	5.7	59.8
Bladen	5496	600	10.9	41.2
Brunswick	3322	550	~~18.0~~ 16.6	36.6
Buncombe	9950	4200	42.2	12.3
Burke	1824		----	7.5
Cabarrus	5169		----	15.3
Caldwell	1574		----	6.9
Camden	991		----	38.7
Carteret	1599		----	12.6
Caswell	4383	950	~~22.8~~ 21.7	47.6
Catawba	2878	1000	~~[illegible]~~ 34.7	9.1
Chatham	3963		~~[illegible]~~	32.1
Cherokee	172	50	29.1	1.7
Chowan	2681		----	43.6
Clay	44		----	1.1
Cleveland	6652		----	21.9
Columbus	7897	350	~~[illegible]~~ 4.4	33.9
Craven	8446		----	32.4
Cumberland	14275	1200	8.4	28.0
Currituck	1102		----	32.0
Dare	241		----	7.0
Davidson	3563	2000	56.1	10.3
Davie	1143	325	28.4	14.0
Duplin	7336		----	37.0
Durham	20101	9500 ~~9050~~	~~49.7~~ 47.3	33.3
Edgecombe	12845	600	~~[illegible]~~ 4.7	51.9
Forsyth	25027	13000	51.9	28.4
Franklin	6643		----	45.6
Gaston	8163		----	13.4
Gates	2344		----	52.6
Graham	113		----	3.2
Granville	7179		----	46.7
Greene	3690		----	46.5
Guilford	22309	8000	35.9	19.5
Halifax	14350	950	~~[illegible]~~ 6.6	56.6
Harnett	5924	900	15.2	26.3
Haywood	488	125	25.6	2.2
Henderson	1319		----	6.7
Hertford	6210	700	11.3	60.0
Hoke	4201	305	9.1	60.6
Hyde	1207	50	4.1	42.2

North Carolina

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Iredell	~~5387~~	1100	20.4	17.8
Jackson	732		----	7.6
Johnston	6686	1200	17.9	21.7
Jones	2238	165	7.4	45.4
Lee	3214	585	18.2	26.0
Lenoir	10266	2500 ~~2050~~	24.4	43.1
Lincoln	1593	500	31.4	12.7
McDowell	796	400	50.3	5.6
Macon	198		----	2.2
Madison	105	50	47.6	0.9
Martin	6117	1500	24.5	50.4
Meckenburg	29472	8750 ~~8075~~	29.7	25.4
Mitchell	35		----	0.3
Montgomery	1960	945	48.2	22.9
Moore	8900	1002	11.3	26.9
Nash	11712	2400	20.5	42.4
New Hanover	11675	5445	~~45.7~~ 46.6	31.4
Northampton	8206	500	6.1	64.2
Onslow	3316	500	15.1	15.9
Orange	4385		----	25.1
Pamlico	1549	100	6.5	34.6
Pasquotank	4961		----	38.2
Pender	4180		----	48.3
Perquimans	2290		----	47.8
Person	4118	1400	34.0	36.2
Pitt	14057	500	~~3.5~~ 3.6	46.3
Polk	799	400	50.0	13.0
Randolph	2273	600	26.4	8.5
Richmond	6065	1525 ~~1252~~	25.1	30.5
Robeson	22062	4000	18.1	57.3
Rockingham	6966	1700	24.4	20.1
Rowan	7060	2500	35.3	17.1
Rutherford	2828		----	12.3
Sampson	8660		----	36.8
Scotland	5791	488	8.4	47.8
Stanly	2329		----	11.4
Stokes	932		----	9.0
Surry	1372		----	5.7
Swain	706		----	15.6
Transylvania	385		----	4.9
Tyrell	939		----	41.4
Union	4666	1095	23.5	22.6
Vance	7179	1000	~~12.2~~ 13.9	45.5
Wake	21902	5000	~~22.3~~ 22.8	29.3
Warren	6908	800	~~11.5~~ 11.6	66.4
Washington	~~2730~~		----	43.6
Watauga	129		----	1.2
Wayne	15141	1500	9.9	42.2
Wilkes	1482		----	6.0
Wilson	10964	1500	~~13.6~~ 13.7	40.4
Yadkin	~~576~~	200	34.7	5.0
Yancey	116	80	68.9 69.0	1.1

SOUTH CAROLINA

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950
Total Population Over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____
Total Negroes Registered

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____
1956

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Abbeyville	3678	15	0.4	33.5
Aiken	9896	1500	15.2	36.4
Allendale	3891	350	9.0	72.3
Anderson	9993	3000	30.0	21.3
Bamberg	4485	500	~~11.2~~ 11.1	57.8
Barnwell	4776	750	15.7	61.7
Beaufort	7624	2000	26.2	57.5
Berkeley	8125	3200	39.4	63.2
Calhoun	4437	0	0	70.8
Charleston	34111	6000	17.6	41.5
Cherokee	3692	1000	27.1	22.1
Chester	6788	650	9.6	42.2
Chesterfield	6059	~~35000~~ 3500	57.8	39.0
Clarendon	9279	1200	12.9	70.9
Colleton	6768	1200	17.7	53.3
Darlington	10455	9000	86.1	46.4
Dillon	6520	4000	61.4	48.3
Dorchester	5772	800	13.9	55.2
Edgefield	4312	800	18.6	59.9
Fairfield	5931	550	9.3	59.3
Florence	16650	1600	9.6	44.9
Georgetown	7321	2100	28.7	53.1
Greenville	17150	9000	52.5	18.7
Greenwood	6782	2500	36.9	30.2
Hampton	4607	350	7.6	55.9
Horry Horry	6969	2700	38.7	26.9
Jasper	3281	1100	~~35.5~~ 33.5	65.2
Kershaw	7065	1000	14.2	48.8
Lancaster	5111	1500	29.4	28.9
Laurens	7313	700	9.6	31.1
Lee	6246	1500	24.0	66.9
Lexington	4698	150	3.2	21.4
McCormick	2625	0	0	62.6
Marion	8668	1500	17.3	56.0
Marlboro	7460	1200	16.1	52.7
Newberry	5896	775	13.1	37.2
Oconee	2457	2000	81.4	12.2
Orangeburg	19158	2200	11.5	63.2
Pickens	2364	900	38.1	11.2
Richland	28383	12500	44.0	35.4
Saluda	2971	500	16.8	42.6
Spartanburg	17546	7000	39.9	22.4
Sumter	14807	1800	12.2	57.3
Union	4879	1500	30.7	32.1
Williamsburg	12121	900	7.4	67.6
York	10904	2900	26.6	31.0

** NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

TEXAS

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950
Total Population over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Anderson	6,235	1,488	23.9	
Angeline	4,143	2,336	56.4	
Austin	1,875	112	6.0	
Bailey	150	78	52.0	
Bastrop	3,261	1,103	33.8	
Bell	8,968	1,264	14.0	
Bexar	51,144	15,497	30.3	
Bowie	16,467	3,012	18.3	
Brazoria	9,900	2,765	27.9	
Brazos	8,795	2,504	28.5	
Burleson	3,625	835	23.0	
Caldwell	1,855	481	25.9	
Camp	1,866	779	41.7	
Cass	4,332	947	21.9	
Chambers	1,105	339	30.7	
Cherokee	6,772	986	14.6	
Collin	1,642	350	21.6	
Colorado	3,852	1,139	29.6	
Dallas	108,900	15,626	14.3	
Dawson	1,330	62	4.7	
Denton	2,623	231	8.8	
Dewitt	1,923	349	18.1	
Ector	2,243	260	11.6	
Ellis	7,090	1,711	24.1	
El Paso	16,276	1,433	8.8	
Falls	6,190	1,934	31.2	
Fannin	3,399	638	18.8	
Fayette	2,762	1,244	45.0	
Fort Bend	6,461	858	13.3	
Freestone	4,487	1,495	33.3	
Galveston	26,806	6,490	24.2	
Gonzales	3,572	896	25.0	
Grayson	6,8[illegible]5	1,117	16.3	
Gregg	16,042	2,398	14.9	
Grimes	4,730	767	16.2	
Guadalupe	2,875	699	24.3	
Hardin	3,572	827	23.2	
Harris	163,604	36,654	22.4	
Harrison	12,872	3,914	30.4	
Hays	817	210	25.7	
Henderson	2,980	1,403	47.0	
Hill	1,977	738	37.3	
Hopkins	1,275	374	29.3	
Houston	6,685	2,023	30.3	
Hunt	3,715	1,157	31.1	
Jackson	1,165	557	47.8	
Jasper	5,563	1,273	22.9	

Texas

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Jefferson	47,916	10,567	22.0	22.7
Johnson	1,335	370	27.7	5.6
Jones	581	144	24.8	6.0
Kaufman	5,333	1,274	23.9	28.6
Lamar	1,721	4,972	34.6	18.6
Lavaca	674	2,941	22.9	10.3
Lee	616	1,535	40.1	26.6
Leon	1,426	2,946	48.4	39.4
Liberty	1,626	5,734	28.4	22.7
Limestone	1,894	5,192	36.5	29.8
Lubbock	2,016	17,136	11.8	7.9
McLennan	6,038	25,371	23.8	17.2
Madison	561	1,359	41.3	32.8
Marion	913	2,541	35.9	56.9
Matagorda	1,174	5,179	22.7	22.3
Midland	1,023	7,195	14.2	8.5
Milam	1,182	4,177	28.3	21.9
Montgomery	1,361	5,342	25.4	25.1
Morris	422	1,483	28.5	33.2
Nacogdoches	2,015	6,782	29.7	28.6
Navarro	1,513	6,990	21.6	24.8
Newton	1,081	3,552	30.4	35.3
Nueces	2,684	13,814	19.4	4.9
Orange	1,536	6,618	23.2	10.9
Panola	1,264	4,821	26.2	34.6
Polk	913	2,368	38.6	29.6
Petter	712	6,344	11.2	4.9
Red River	533	3,297	16.2	23.9
Robertson	1,114	3,812	29.2	41.3
Rockwall	283	695	40.7	27.5
Rusk	3,163	8,182	38.7	29.8
Sabine	361	1,576	22.9	26.1
San Augustine	601	1,263	47.6	34.7
San Jacinto	572	2,146	26.7	52.5
Shelby	615	3,924	15.7	25.5
Smith	3,713	18,698	19.9	29.9
Tarrant	8,571	71,826	11.9	11.0
Taylor	739	4,634	15.9	4.1
Travis	5,268	27,855	18.9	14.1
Trinity	1,023	1,449	70.6	26.8
Upshur	1,369	2,772	49.4	28.9
Victoria	1,898	5,451	34.8	9.9
Walker	1,406	6,924	20.3	37.2
Waller	1,063	2,908	36.6	52.9
Washington	3,750	4,606	81.4	34.1
Wharton	1,963	4,937	39.8	21.8
Wichita	1,006	9,514	10.6	6.4
Willaimson	813	3,336	24.4	15.1

VIRGINIA

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Population Over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Accomac	6,591	220	3.3	34.2
Albemarle	2,840	350	12.3	18,6
Alleghany	1,193	168	14.1	8.3
Amelia	1,999	555	27.8	49.9
Amherst	2,854	546	19.1	27.9
Appomattox	1,107	202	18.2	24.7
Arlington	4,248	1,185	27.9	4.9
Augusta	956	179	18.7	5.1
Bath	480	21	4.4	10.5
Bedford	2,916	1,066	36.6	19.0
Bland	79	12	15.2	2.0
Botetourt	891	----	0	10.1
Brunswick	5,503	705	12.8	57.8
Buchanan	6	----	0	----
Buckingham	2,493	290	11.6	42.8
Campbell	3,357	955	28.4	23.7
Caroline	3,086	406	13.2	51.4
Carroll	200	11	5.5	1.5
Charles City	1,930	704	36.5	81.0
Charlotte	2,702	284	10.5	40.9
Chesterfield	4,489	1,150	25.6	20.9
Clarke	746	255	34.2	17.2
Craig	13	----	0	0.5
Culpeper	1,907	452	23.7	27.9
Cumberland	1,996	340	17.0	55.7
Dickenson	163	57	35.0	1.4
Dinwiddie	7,879	395	5.6	64.6
Elizabeth City	6,973	inc. with Hampton		
Essex	1,594	126	7.9	46.1
Fairfax	6,563	1,115	17.0	10.0
Fauquier	2,913	106	3.6	26.3
Floyd	236	104	44.1	4.3
Fluvanna	1,301	82	6.3	35.1
Franklin	1,750	307	17.5	14.6
Frederick	214	48	22.4	2.2
Giles	265	140	52.8	2.5
Gloucester	1,960	513	26.2	31.3
Goochland	2,515	657	26.1	50.0
Grayson	462	53	11.5	4.4
Green	357	87	24.4	13.5
Greensville	4,506	790	17.5	59.3
Halifax	8,675	521	6.0	44.0
Hanover	3,388	764	22.6	30.8
Henrico	3,253	814	25.0	9.9
Henry	3,474	400	11.5	24.2
Highland	103	11	10.7	2.9
Isle of Wight	3,957	735	18.6	51.9
James City	1,590	330	20.8	46.5
King & Queen	1,795	205	11.4	53.8

Virginia

&

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
King George	987	325	32.9	27.4
King William	~~1,888~~	~~1,146~~ 260	13.8	46.1
Lancaster	2,015	415	20.6	41.2
Lee	257	97	37.7	1.1
Loudoun	2,098	531	25.3	18.8
Louisa	2,602	361	13.9	39.8
Lunenburg	2,905	500	17.2	43.9
Madison	976	79	8.1	23.1
Mathews	1,139	150	13.2	24.9
Mecklenburg	7,655	335	4.4	49.5
Middlesex	1,568	212	13.5	41.9
Montgomery	959	465	48.5	5.3
Nansemond	8,931	1,148	12.9	65.3
Nelson	1,882	352	18.7	27.0
New Kent	1,150	240	20.9	54.0
Norfolk	8,898	1,426	16.0	16.3
Northampton	5,105	529	10.4	53.5
Northumberland	2,118	716	33.8	40.8
Nottoway	3,607	655	18.2	43.9
Orange	1,791	247	13.8	26.7
Page	313	110	35.1	3.7
Patrick	626	80	12.8	8.4
Pittsylvania	9,271	502	5.4	30;9
Powhatan	1,349	329	24.4	43.6
Prince Edward	3,468	725	20.9	44.6
Prince George	3,129	175	5.6	30.3
Prince William	~~5,724~~ 1524			11.9
Princess Anne	~~1,524~~ 5724	~~1,800~~ 1414	24.7	23.5
Pulaski	1,165	695	59.7	7.5
Rappahannock	617	330	53.5	17.7
Richmond	1,077	235	21.8	34.4
Roanoke	2,321	539	23.2	8.5
Rockbridge	1,211	345	28.5	8.6
Rockingham	409	78	19.1	1.9
Russell	370	75	20.3	2.5
Scott	187	36	19.3	1.0
Shenandoah	231	75	32.5	1.8
Smyth	289	82	28;4	1.6
Southampton	7,972	575	7.2 -?	60.9
Spotsylvania	1,470	335	22.8	23.9
Stafford	800	350	43.8	12.9
Surry	1,941	310	16.0	63.8
Sussex	4,034	540	13.4	65.6
Tazewell	1,667	267	16.0	6.1
Warren	663	137	20.7	8.0
~~Warwick~~	~~7,129~~			
Washington	741	148	20.0	3.2
Westmoreland	2,285	331	14.5	45.5
Wise	1,376	207	15.0	4.2
Wythe	663	169	26.7	4.7
York	1,699	607	22.5	26.2

TABLE 1

NEGRO REGISTRATION

STATE	1947	1952	1956	Per cent of Total Registration	Per cent of total Population of voting age (Negro)
Alabama	6,000	[illegible]	~~52,000~~ 53,366	6	30
Arkansas	47,000	[illegible]	69,677	12	21
Florida	49,000	[illegible]	148,703	[illegible]	20
[illegible]	125,000	[illegible]	163,[illegible]	[illegible]	19
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	30
[illegible]	5,000	[illegible]	20,000	4	41
North Carolina	75,000	[illegible]	135,000	7	24
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	99,890	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	90,000	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Virginia	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* ([illegible])

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET | NEW YORK 18, N. Y. | LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE, *EXECUTIVE SECRETARY*
ROY WILKINS, *ADMINISTRATOR*
HENRY LEE MOON, *DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS*

FOR RELEASE: January 7, 1954

SPINGARN AGAIN HEADS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

January 7, 1954

- - - -

Board Members Elected, Officers Renamed and Staff Heads Chosen

NEW YORK, Jan. 7.-- Unanimously re-elected, Arthur B. Spingarn begins his 15th consecutive year as president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Spingarn was first elected to the post in 1940, succeeding his brother, the late Joel E. Spingarn. The board of directors again selected him to head the organization at its regular monthly session here following the Association's annual meeting on January 4.

Also reelected at that session were Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman, board of directors; Dr. Robert C. Weaver, vice-chairman; Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Boston, treasurer; and Judge Theodore Spaulding, Philadelphia, assistant treasurer. In addition the following vice presidents were elected: Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Rabbi Judah Cahn, Hon. Harry E Davis, Mrs. Grace Fenderson, Oscar Hammerstein II, John Hammond, Prof. C. L. Harper, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. William Lloyd Imes, Dr. Allen F. Jackson, Hon. Ira W. Jayne, Eric Johnston, Eugene Martin, Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, Hon. Wayne Morse, T. G. Nutter, A. Philip Randolph, Ike Smalls, Willard S. Townsend, Bishop W. J. Walls and Samuel Williams.

Staff executives re-named by the board were Walter White, executive secretary; Roy Wilkins, administrator; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; and Henry Lee Moon, director, public relations.

New Board Members Named

The results of the referendum of the branches for the selection of 16 members of the board were announced at the annual meeting preceding the board session. Z. Alexander Looby, a member of the Association's national legal committee and of the City Council of Nashville, and Kivie Kaplan, vice president and general manager of the Colonial Tanning Company of Boston and co-chairman of the new NAACP life membership committee, are the two newly elected members of the board.

Reelected to three-year terms each were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Joel E. Spingarn, Senator Herbert Lehman, Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, Dr. Algernon D. Black, all of New York City.

Also Theodore M. Berry, member, City Council, Cincinnati; Roscoe Dunjee, editor, The Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City; Dr. J. Leonidas Leach, Flint, Mich.; Alfred Baker Lewis, Greenwich, Conn.; Dr. James J. McClendon, Detroit; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Jessie Vann, publisher, The Courier, Pittsburgh; and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Staff Submits Reports

The annual meeting, attended by about 150 leaders of the Association in the states and localities, heard reports from the executive officers on the activities of 1953 and plans for the future. Mr. White optimistically reported that "the year 1953 marked the nearest approach and witnessed the greatest gains of the NAACP toward the goals set by its founders in 1909." For the first time in four years, Mr. Wilkins reported, the Association incurred no operating deficit and completed the year with a surplus of income over operating expenditures.

Gains made on the Washington front by executive action and the legislative stalemate in that city were reported by Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington bureau. Mr. Mitchell warned that continuing mistreatment of Negro servicemen by prejudiced civilian officials in the South "no doubt" occasions many a "chuckle within the Kremlin walls."

Maps Blueprint for Legal Action

While concentrating on the public school education cases, the legal department "still managed to keep its overall legal program going, map out a blueprint for future action and extend its activities into other areas," Mr. Marshall told the annual meeting.

Plans were developed by NAACP staff lawyers with the aid of members of the national legal committee for accelerating the legal attack upon segregation in education, transportation, employment, housing and places of public accommodation, the Association's special counsel reported. He also called attention to the newly published "NAACP Civil Rights Handbook," made possible by a grant from the Prince Hall Masons.

More than $70,000 were raised and contributed to the legal expenses involved in the public school cases, Mr. Marshall said in expressing appreciation for the cooperation received from "our branches, state conferences, the entire Negro press, individuals and groups of individuals who contributed" to these cases. "Regardless of what the decision of the Supreme Court will be, we have found from these cases that our organization and good-thinking people throughout the country and the entire Negro press, once alerted to the issue, will roll up their sleeves and work toward the common goal."

"It is most interesting to note," he said, "that in public statements and newspaper articles throughout the South we find over and over again the public admission of the 'white supremacy' group and of the white people in general of the South that they fully realize that segregation is on its way out and will be removed one way or another."

Other Reports Heard

Other reports were submitted by Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant; James W. Ivy, editor, The Crisis; Herbert Wright, youth secretary; Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., church secretary; and Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations.

NAACP FINANCES IN BLACK AS 1953 ENDS

January 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 7.-- The end of 1953 found the finances of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the black, instead of the red, according to a report to the annual meeting by Roy Wilkins, administrator.

Mr. Wilkins read a report which included all business through December 24 showing a surplus of $22,916. Total receipts for the period were $391,341 and total expenditures $368,425. Of the receipts, $248,440 came from branches of the NAACP in the form of memberships alone.

Mr. Wilkins, who is budget director of the NAACP, stressed that the report was not complete through December 31, and was not audited as of January 4 when the annual meeting was held. He said, however, that the expenditures and income of the last seven days of the year and the adjustments and corrections of the certified public accountants to be made later are not expected to alter the surplus position, although the amount may not be the same as the December 24 figure.

NAACP FIELD WORKERS STUDY '54 PROBLEMS

January 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan 7.-- Field workers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today closed an intensive three-day in-service training institute under direction of Gloster B. Current, the Association's director of branches. Brought in for the NAACP 45th annual meeting, members of the field staff remained to discuss and receive instructions on program, organization, and ways and means of promoting the Fight for Freedom and of meeting the problems of the new year.

At a dinner meeting on January 3 preceding the annual session, Mr. Current outlined the goals of the branch department in carrying out the Association's program and raising the necessary funds for the Fight for Freedom. "The branch department," Mr. Current announced "will undertake to raise more than half of the million dollars set as the annual goal. We have arrived at this understanding after consultation in the field with local branch, state conference and regional leaders. We are confident that through the 1300 branches we can reach our goal."

In his report to the annual meeting, Mr. Current was equally optimistic pointing out that the 15 per cent increase in membership last year indicated that the rate of increase would be accelerated during 1954.

The field workers participated in discussions during the institute with Walter

White, executive secretary and Roy Wilkins, administrator, on program and policy; with Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, on legal action; with Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington bureau, and Henry Lee Moon, director, public relations, on the legislative program and political action; Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., on the role of the church in NAACP activities; Edward R. Dudley, newly appointed special assistant in charge of the Fight for Freedom, on ways of implementing the campaign; Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant, on techniques of cooperating with the labor movement; and Jack Greenberg, assistant special counsel, on aid to servicemen and veterans.

PHILADELPHIA COTILLION GIVES $1385 TO NAACP

January 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 7.-- A total of $1,385 raised by the Philadelphia Cotillion Society from cooperating organizations and individuals was presented to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the society's annual Christmas cotillion in Philadelphia on December 30. Accepting the contribution on behalf of the Association, Walter White, executive secretary, thanked the society for its generosity and thoughtfulness in making this contribution to the Association's Fight for Freedom Fund.

The Fighting Fund was further enhanced by contributions from the following branches and other units of the NAACP: Atlanta, $1,500; North Carolina State Conference of Branches, $1,000; Montgomery, Ala., $300; Tuskegee and Birmingham, $250 each; Terre Haute, Ind., $125; Chattanooga, Tenn., $111; Orange and Maplewood, N. J., youth council, $103.66; Anniston, Ala., $103.29; Reidsville, N. C. , $100; Staten Island, N. Y., $75; Lansing, Mich., $61.31; New Castle, Pa., $50; Etowah Co., Ala., $35; Springfield, Mo., $30.30; Tampa, Fla., and Tempe, Ariz., $25 each; Cairo, Ala., $21.20; Alabama State Conference, $20.51; and Bessemer and Henry County, Ala., $10 each. An additional $25 was contributed by the Bethel A.M.E. Zion Church of Greenwich, Conn.

The sum raised by the Philadelphia Cotillion included contributions of $500 from the Philadelphia NAACP; $110, The Bronzemen, Inc.; Club Benedict, $101; $58, Omega chapter of A.K.A. Sorority; $50, the Gay Northeasterners; $50 Mu Omega chapter Omega Psi Phi Fraternity; and sums from other groups and individuals.

NAACP PROTESTS POSTPONING OF HEARINGS ON FEPC BILL

January 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 7.-- Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today sent the following telegram to Senator H. Alexander Smith (R., N.J.) chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, upon receipt of a telegram from the Senator giving notice of the postponement of the scheduled hearings on the Fair Employment Practices bill:

> We are inexpressibly shocked by your telegram postponing hearings on S.692 from January 14 to a date approximately a month later. It is our conviction based on many years of experience that hearings on this measure scheduled as late as February 23 would almost certainly prevent measure from reaching

Senate calendar and being voted on in time to prevent a filibuster from killing the bill especially in an election year like 1954 when Congress will do its best to adjourn early to permit political campaigning. We are even more disturbed by the general belief at high Senate levels that the postponement announced in your telegram really means cancellation on a bill which is desperately needed to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Today's newspapers report that there are now more than two million unemployed Americans and that present recession may increase number to four and one half million during 1954. As you well know, members of minorities form a highly disproportionate percentage of present unemployed and in absence of Fair Employment Practices legislation will form a disproportionate number of those soon to be out of work. National Association for Advancement of Colored People urges rescheduling of hearings for January 14. Any other action can only doom Americans to economic disaster solely because of race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS FOR TWO FROM BALTIMORE

January 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 7.-- Three new life memberships in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were announced here this week. Formal presentation of a $500 life membership certificate was made to Mrs. Lillie. M. Jackson, veteran leader of the Baltimore NAACP branch, and a member of the Association's national board of directors.

Judge Hubert T. Delany, a fellow member of the board made the presentation to Mrs. Jackson at the close of the board's regular monthly meeting here on January 4. Judge Delany paid tribute to Mrs. Jackson's years of devotion to the program and goals of the NAACP. He cited the many achievements of the Baltimore branch under her leadership and expressed the esteem of the board for her contributions to the NAACP.

Another life membership went to a second resident of Baltimore--Avrum K. Rifman, an attorney of that city. The third recent membership fully paid for was taken out by the Midnight Mystic Social Club of Mobile, Ala.

FOR RELEASE AFTER 5 P.M. Saturday, January 9:

BOWLES SEES U.S.-PAKISTAN PACT AS SPUR TO INDIAN COMMUNISTS

January 9, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 9.-- If the American plan to establish military bases in Pakistan goes through it will lend encouragement to the Communists in India, Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India, said today in a radio interview with Walter White recorded for broadcast over Station WLIB and affiliated stations in other cities.

In response to an inquiry by Mr. White as to the possible impact in India of the consummation of the proposed U.S.-Pakistan military pact, Mr. Bowles said: "The fear of the Indians is deepseated. In India today, the Communists are able to speak only for the Communists, or about 3 per cent of the people. If this pact goes through, they will be able to speak for other people some of whom fear Pakistan or hate the Moslem faith. Such groups may come together under the Communist banner."

The former Ambassador made a strong plea for the Point IV program of aid to underdeveloped areas without strings. "Eighty per cent of the problem of this country is that of hunger," he said. "The Point IV program is essential to meet this problem. Yet if we try to tie strings to it and say vote as we tell you to, these people react just as you would expect Americans to react."

Mr. Bowles has recently recounted his experiences in the foreign service in a newly published book, "Ambassador's Report."

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
107 WEST 43 STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
President
WALTER WHITE
Secretary
ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
Treasurer

THURGOOD MARSHALL
Director and Counsel
ROBERT L. CARTER
Assistant Counsel
ARNOLD DE MILLE
Press Relations

FOR RELEASE: January 7, 1954

PRINCE HALL MASONS OF GA. AND LA. GIVE NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE $11,000

January 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 7.-- Presentation of contributions totaling $12,472.68 were made to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund here on January 4 by two of the top leaders of the Prince Hall Masons in the South. The contributions were accepted on behalf of the Legal Fund by Thurgood Marshall, the fund's director.

John G. Lewis, Jr., grand master, Prince Hall Grand Lodge F. and A. M. of Louisiana, presented on behalf of his organization a check for $5,972.68. John Wesley Dobbs, who holds a similar office with the fraternal order in Georgia brought from that state $6,500 for the Legal Defense Fund--$5,000 from the Georgia Masons; $1,000 from the State Teacher and Educations Association; $200, Georgia Negro Voters League; and $100 each from Mr. Dobbs, himself, John P. Whittaker and S. L. Greene, all of Atlanta.

-30-

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: January 14, 1954

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING PLACED BEFORE PRESIDENT

January 14, 1954

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14.-- Steps to halt the use of Federal funds to aid in the development of racially restricted housing were anticipated here today following reiteration by President Dwight D. Eisenhower of his opposition to the use of government money for the support of segregation.

The President reaffirmed his position in a conference at the White House on January 13 with a delegation of leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who placed before him the discriminatory record of Levitt and Sons, builders of Levittown, Pa.; called his attention to the continuing segregation in interstate bus and railroad travel in the South; and invited him to address a meeting in Washington to launch formally the NAACP Fight for Freedom campaign to complete emancipation by January 1, 1963, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Proclamation.

Members of the delegation visiting the White House were Arthur B. Spingarn, the Association's veteran president; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board; Judge Theodore Spaulding of Philadelphia, a member of the board; Walter White, executive secretary; and Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington bureau. This is the same delegation, except for Mr. Mitchell, which visited Mr. Eisenhower in November, 1952, shortly after his election.

To Address NAACP Meeting

The President agreed to talk to the NAACP meeting at a time and place to be determined later. He also indicated his support of a bill introduced by Senators Irving Ives of New York and John M. Butler of Maryland to end segregation in interstate travel. The President was informed that although the courts have repeatedly banned interstate travel segregation as unconstitutional, colored people are still jim crowed on most of the interstate trains and buses in the South.

In Bucks County, Pa., the group told the President, "a critical housing and employment situation has been created by the vast new development in that area." The exclusion of Negroes from new housing being built in that county with FHA-insured mortgages has seriously restricted job opportunities for Negro workers in the steel and other industries being introduced.

Government Aids Levitt

According to a recent report, of 4,480 mortgage loans closed in 1953 for homes built in Levittown, all except five were with some sort of government aid, either GI loans or FHA insurance. None of these homes has been made available by Levitt to Negro families. This builder pursued the same policy of exclusion in his earlier Long Island development.

The presentation in the Bucks County situation was made on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee and the Human Relations Council of Bucks County as well as the NAACP. These organizations have been working jointly with other groups in efforts to break down the pattern of excluding Negroes from housing in the county.

Mr. White reporting on the conference said: "We found the President relaxed and affable but showing the strain of the heavy duties which we impose on the President of the United States."

NAACP YOUTH CONFERENCE TO HEAR VICE PRESIDENT

January 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 14.-- Vice President Richard Nixon will be the principal speaker at the closing session of a four-day national youth legislative conference in Washington, January 28-31, Herbert L. Wright, youth secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced here today.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Walter White, NAACP executive secretary; Harold Stassen, director, Foreign Operations Administration; and Gen. Telford Taylor are among other national leaders scheduled to address the NAACP-sponsored conference to be held on the campus of Howard University.

More than 500 young people from colleges and communities in all sections of the country are expected to attend the conference, Mr. Wright said. The sessions will be devoted to discussions of the social, economic and political issues with a view to "encouraging and preparing young people to participate in the civic affairs of their respective communities," the NAACP youth leader asserted.

Other speakers who will serve as consultants for the conference workshops or address other sessions include Dr. W. Montague Cobb, professor of anatomy at the Howard University Medical School and chairman of the NAACP National Health Committee; Dr. William Hale, professor of sociology, Clark College, Atlanta; Clarence Mitchell, director, NAACP Washington bureau; James F. Green, deputy director, State Department's Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs; William Oliver, co-director, anti-discrimination department, United Automobile Workers-CIO; Miss Muriel Ferris, League of Women Voters; and Mrs. Carmel Carrington Marr, adviser to the United States delegation to the United Nations.

Applications for registration at the conference are being received at NAACP headquarters, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y., Mr. Wright announced.

NO ARMY REPRISALS FOR JIM CROW BUS ARRESTS

January 14, 1954

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14.-- The Army will take no steps to court martial or otherwise discipline the 50 Negro servicemen arrested and fined in Columbia, S.C., on last Thanksgiving night as the result of an incident in a Jim Crow bus.

This assurance was this week given to Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by Hugh M. Milton, Assistant Secretary of the Army. Mr. Milton also informed the NAACP representative that the Army had asked the Justice Department to investigate the possible violation of the soldiers' civil rights by the Columbia law enforcement officers.

The Army action followed prompt NAACP protest against the mass arrest of the soldiers because one of them refused to move from a seat next to a white woman who invoked the local segregation law. White soldiers on the bus bound from Columbia to nearby Fort Jackson were released, but all Negro Army men, including Lieut. Austell O. Sherard, were held and fined a total of $1,573.

Meanwhile, at Fort Jackson, a new policy on civil arrests of soliders was announced. This policy provides for the release of military personnel taken into custody by Columbia police to military police at Fort Jackson. No action, except on traffic violations and major offenses may be taken by civil authorities.

MOVIE HOUSE JIM CROW ENDED IN CAIRO, ILL.

January 14, 1954

CAIRO, Ill., Jan. 14.-- As a result of a campaign by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, this southernmost city of Illinois has become one of the first communities in the area to admit Negroes on an unsegregated basis to motion picture theatres from which they were formerly excluded.

In the fall of 1953, Dr. S. W. Madison, subsequently elected president of the local branch, with several relatives, were refused admission to the local segregated theatre. Local and state officials were immediately contacted and the Cairo branch prepared for court action.

On October 19, after one of the theatre owners pleaded "not guilty," Dr. Madison returned to the theatre and was admitted without difficulty. Subsequently, Negroes have been admitted without incident. All other movies within a 150-mile radius are maintained on a segregated basis in violation of statutes which prohibit segregation or discrimination in places of public accommodation on the basis of race or color.

Cairo was the scene of violence in January, 1952, when the NAACP branch initiated a program to end segregation in the local public schools. Subsequently, Negro students were admitted without incident to formerly all-white elementary, junior and senior high schools.

BRANCHES DONATE TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

January 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 14.-- A state group and seven local units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have contributed a total of $1,164.27 to the Association's Fight for Freedom Fund. An additional contribution of $50 was received from Ike Smalls of Des Moines, Iowa.

The Georgia State Conference of NAACP branches sent in a contribution of $500. Other branches contributing include Newark, $406.35; Schenectady, N.Y., $127.42; Easton, Pa., and Butte, Montana, $50 each; Monongahela Valley, Pa., $10.50; Greggton, Texas, and Corona, N.Y.; $10 each.

ILLINOIS NAACP MAPS CAMPAIGN TO ENFORCE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

January 14, 1954

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 14.-- An intensive campaign to secure the full enforcement and adherence to the provisions of the civil rights laws of Illinois was launched this week by the Illinois State organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, representing 60 local branches, youth councils and college chapters throughout the state.

The campaign will include full investigation of the situation throughout the state and in each community. After the facts have been fully determined attempts will be made to enter into negotiations with the management of discriminating establishments, to launch a program to fully inform the public of the discrimination, and to exert public pressure against the discrimination through publicity, letterwriting campaigns, leaflets, mass meetings, poster walks and sit-downs in discriminating restaurants. Further actions will include filing of civil and criminal suits under the provisions of the civil rights laws and pressure on the public officials to fulfill their obligations to end discrimination in public places of accommodation.

A leadership training workshop will be held on January 23 in Chicago in preparation for the campaign and a series of conferences will be held in five districts in the state to prepare and mobilize the branches of the NAACP for the campaign. Billy Jones, East St. Louis attorney and president of the Illinois NAACP Conference, appointed the following as convenors for the district conferences: Rev. Louis Dawley, Carbondale; Dr. John E. Eubanks, East St. Louis; Rev. Benjamin Moore, Peoria; Booker T. Cole, Rock Island and Gerald D. Bullock, Chicago.

.. ..

COURT BANS EXCLUSION FROM DETROIT PROJECT

January 14, 1954

DETROIT, Jan. 14.-- Exclusion of Negro families from the Colonel Hamtramck Homes, low-rent public housing development in Hamtramck, a Detroit suburb, has been banned by order of Federal District Judge Thomas P. Thornton. The ruling represents the second major housing victory of the Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The case was before the court on a motion for summary judgment filed by William A. Jones, Jr., Jessie Dockett and Lillian Toland who alleged that they had been denied the right to lease dwellings in the project solely because of their race and color in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Representing the plaintiffs were NAACP attorneys Willis M. Graves and John W. Roxborough, II.

In granting the NAACP motion, Judge Thornton said that the testimony clearly demonstrated that "it was impossible for a member of the Negro race to be granted occupancy in the public housing facilities in question, said housing facilities being under the auspices of public funds, both local and federal." Further, he said, the testimony proves that "discrimination is a fact."

The suit, filed by the Detroit NAACP more than a year ago, was the outgrowth of an earlier Hamtramck case, Leroy White v. the City of Hamtramck, started in 1946. In the original White case, the Circuit Court of Wayne County ruled that the city would not have to admit Negroes to the project because another project was planned for Negro occupancy.

In a later suit filed by NAACP attorneys efforts were made to have the court reconsider its decree and to order the city and the Hamtramck Housing Commission to admit eligible applicants without regard to race, color or creed. When this petition failed, NAACP attorneys started separate action against the City of Hamtramck in the Federal District Court on November 17, 1952.

SMITH SEES SENATE ACTION ON FEPC THIS SESSION

January 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 14.-- In response to a protest against postponement of the scheduled Senate hearings on the FEPC bill, Seantor H. Alexander Smith, (R.,N.J.) today expressed his "firm conviction that hearings starting February 23 can be concluded in sufficient time to have legislation on Senate floor for action."

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had charged that postponement of the hearings from January 12 to February 23 "would almost certainly prevent the measure from reaching the Senate calendar and being voted on in time to prevent a filibuster from killing the bill especially in an election year like 1954 when Congress will do its best to adjourn early to permit political campaigning."

Senator Smith who is chairman of the Senate Labor Committee postponed the hearings over the objections of Senator Irving M. Ives, (R.,N.Y.), chairman of the subcommittee.

Despite assurances from Senator Smith, Mr. White remained apprehensive that the possibilities for Senate action on the bill had been impaired by the postponement.

RESTAURANT BAN LIFTED AT KNOXVILLE AIRPORT

January 14, 1954

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 14.-- Negroes may now be served in the restaurant of the Municipal Airport here. The new policy was instituted by vote of the City Council after a delegation composed of representatives of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Young Men's Civic Group and Mutual Civic Women's Group appeared before the council and asked for such a ruling.

TO VOTE ON JIM CROW CAMPUS ORGANIZATIONS

January 14, 1954

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 14.-- The Temple University chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has succeeded in getting the university administration to submit to a student referendum the question as to whether or not segregated student organizations will be allowed to remain on the campus. The elections will be held during the period February 3-6.

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
107 WEST 43 STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
President
WALTER WHITE
Secretary
ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
Treasurer

THURGOOD MARSHALL
Director and Counsel
ROBERT L. CARTER
Assistant Counsel
ARNOLD DE MILLE
Press Relations

FOR RELEASE: January 14, 1954

LEGAL FUND GETS $1,000 FROM BALTIMORE FRONTIERS

January 14, 1954

BALTIMORE, Md., Jan. 14.-- A check for $1,000 was presented by the Baltimore chapter of the Frontiers Club here Tuesday, January 12, to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The presentation, at a luncheon meeting of the club at the Druid Hill YMCA, was made by Dr. Lucius Butler, outgoing president, to Roy Wilkins of the NAACP national office. Dr. Butler said the Baltimore chapter was making the contribution in appreciation of the work the NAACP has been doing, especially the legal attack on segregation in the public schools. In his response, Mr. Wilkins outlined the extensive campaign being carried on in the Fight for Freedom drive now underway with the objective of eliminating all race discrimination by 1963, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

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PRESS RELEASE

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Assistant Counsel
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FOR RELEASE: January 22, 1954

SUPREME COURT ASKED TO RECONSIDER IRVIN CASE

January 22, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 22.-- A petition for reconsideration of its refusal to hear the appeal of Walter Lee Irvin from a death sentence imposed by Florida courts in the famous Groveland case was filed in the United States Supreme Court here January 19 by attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Irvin was convicted of the rape of a Groveland farm woman in 1949 despite his steadfast denials and the contention of his lawyers that he was denied due process of law. He was granted a new trial by the Supreme Court, but he and Samuel Shepherd were shot down by the sheriff just before the new trial was to have been held in November, 1951. Shepherd died of his wounds. A third defendant was shot to death by a posse before he was ever arrested. A fourth, a lad of 16 at the time, was sentenced to life imprisonment and did not appeal.

Irvin was found "guilty" at the second trial in 1952 after a jury deliberated one hour and twenty-three minutes. After being denied redress by the highest Florida court, Irvin appealed to the nation's highest court last November, but a writ of certiorari was not granted. The present petition is a request that the Supreme Court reconsider and grant the writ.

NAACP GETS $346 IN FREEDOM FUND

January 22, 1954

NEW YORK, Jan. 22.-- Six trade union locals and eight local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People contributed a total of $346.54 to the Association's Fight for Freedom Fund during the week ending January 20.

The contributing trade union locals, all affiliates of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, include Fort Worth, Texas, $50.00; Mason City, Iowa, $25.00; Des Moines, Iowa, $25.00; $15.00 each from Evansville, Ind., and Chicago, Ill.; and $10.00 from Wichita, Kansas.

The contributing local NAACP branches include Morris County, N.J., $100.00; Leavenworth, Kans., $25.00; Clayton County, Ala., $20.00; Montgomery, W. Va., $17.24; Dillon, S. C. $13.75; Monongahela Valley, Pa., $10.50; Fayette, W. Va., $10.05; and Oakland County, Mich., $10.00.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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Southern Regional Council

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WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: February 4, 1954

NAACP FREEDOM CONFERENCE TO HEAR BUNCHE, PRESIDENT

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- Dr. Ralph J. Bunche of United Nations fame will join President Eisenhower on the platform at the one-day Freedom Fulfillment Conference which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is sponsoring in Washington on March 10.

In letters to NAACP units throughout the country, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board of directors, and Walter White, executive secretary, call for representative attendance at the conference which "will be devoted to spotlighting national attention on steps needed to fulfill the Emancipation Proclamation by 1963." Each of the Association's 1300 branches is urged to send at least one representative to the conference.

Sessions will be held in the Interdepartmental Auditorium where local and state leaders of the NAACP will work out with board and staff members further plans for the Fight for Freedom and for raising $1,000,000 annually. This sum is needed to carry out the program to achieve complete emancipation by the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's proclamation on January 1, 1963.

NAACP HAILS ORDER TO INTEGRATE U.S. MILITARY POST SCHOOLS

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- A U.S. Defense Department order abolishing segregation in all military post schools by September 1, 1955, was promptly hailed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as "another milestone" in "making America more truly democratic."

The order, signed by Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, was issued January 12, and made public February 1. It instructs the Army, Navy and Air Force not to open any new segregated schools, and gives them until the 1955 date to integrate schools at 21 bases now practicing segregation.

The directive states that if local educational agencies--now running the schools with Federal funds--are unable under state law to operate interracial schools, the U.S. Commissioner of Education will take steps to run the schools on a non-segregated basis.

A telegram sent to President Eisenhower yesterday by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, congratulated the Chief Executive on his "insistence" that segregation in military post schools be ended by 1955, and added: "Now that an unequivocal position has been taken we are certain that the job can be completed long before that date."

Another telegram from Mr. White to John A. Hannah, Assistant Secretary of Defense, extended warm congratulations to Dr. Hannah for his "major role" in the no-segregation order.

"Knowing some of the grave problems you have faced during recent months," the message said, "we all the more admire your stand and congratulate you on the success of your courageous action."

In March, 1953, President Eisenhower announced that segregation in all federally operated schools on military posts would be ended by the fall term. At the same time, he pledged that military commanders would negotiate with local authorities to achieve similar results in schools located on military posts but operated by local or state authorities.

In September, 1953, Dr. Hannah told the NAACP: "We have insisted that military services eliminate segregated schools not later than September 1, 1955."

"My attitude on racial integration is firmly fixed and well known and I do not expect to vary from it," Dr. Hannah added.

Four months previously, Dr. Hannah had informed the NAACP that Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, had suggested that racial integration in schools on the 21 military posts be delayed.

In June, 1953, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D., Man.) placed in the Congressional Record a NAACP statement charging that military post school integration was being obstructed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

This week Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, replied to Defense Secretary Wilson's recent statement that "there is absolutely no truth to stories attributed to authoritative sources that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has opposed integrated schools on military bases."

Mr. Mitchell said: "The President announced in the spring of 1953 that segregation would end in schools on military posts. Almost immediately Mrs. Hobby sent a memorandum counselling delay. If this had not happened, the schools would be integrated now. We challenge the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to make Mrs. Hobby's memorandum public."

Of the 21 bases ordered to integrate their schools by September 1, 1955, 10 are Air Force, eight Army and three Navy.

They are: Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama; Pine Bluff Arsenal, Arkansas; MacDill Air Force Base, Eglin Air Force Base, Tyndall Air Force Base, and Naval Air Station (Pensacola), all in Florida; Andrews Air Force Base, Naval Air Station (Patuxent), and Naval Powder Factory (Indianhead), in Maryland; Fort Sill, Oklahoma; Fort Jackson and Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina; Fort Bliss, Fort Hood, Fort Sam Houston, Randolph

Air Force Base, Reese Air Force Base, and Sheppard Air Force Base, all in Texas; and Fort Belvoir, Langley Air Force Base, and Fort Monroe, in Virginia.

NATIONAL YOUTH CONVENTION URGES DEFEAT OF BRICKER AMENDMENTS

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- A National Youth Legislative Conference sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last week called for defeat of the controversial Bricker amendment, extension of the vote to 18-year-olds, and immediate action by the federal government to relieve a "growing unemployment problem with millions of people throughout the nation already out of work.

A resolution on the latter point, adopted by the 200 Negro and white delegates from 19 states and the District of Columbia, urged three specific steps on the part of the U.S. government:

.. Extensive public works programs, especially in "economically distressed" areas, with emphasis on the construction of public housing, schools and hospitals;

.. An increase in the federal minimum wage law to $1.25 an hour, with coverage extended to all wage earners;

.. Increased job opportunities for youth by means of increased federal aid to vocational schools, job placement services in these schools, and apprenticeship training available to all young workers.

In addition, the youthful delegation decried the appointment of James F. Byrnes to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. It requested President Eisenhower to remove Mr. Byrnes from his post and "to appoint only such people who agree with President Eisenhower's stated position that every vestige of segregation and discrimination should be removed from American life."

The convention, held January 28 to 31 in Washington, also asked revision of the Taft-Hartley Act to make racial discrimination an unfair labor practice, and designated the month of February Fair Employment Practices Month to rally support for federal FEPC on the local level.

The convention, the fourth National Youth Legislative Conference to be sponsored by the NAACP--and the first since the Republican Administration took office--was held on the campus of Howard University.

NAACP LIFE MEMBERSHIPS INCREASED IN JANUARY

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- Six new life memberships in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were taken out during January as the Association's Life Membership Campaign Committee opened its drive for 2,500 new $500 members. In addition, initial payments were made on seven other life memberships during the month.

The new fully paid life members are Mrs. Jean K. Green of Waban, Mass.; Louis Hellman, Boston; Clarence Adams, Dundalk, Md.; and Edward R. Dudley, NAACP special assistant in charge of the Fight for Freedom Fund. Honoring her late husband, Mrs.

Charles E. Toney took out a life membership. The sixth was that of a distinguished clergyman who requests anonymity.

Initial payments on life memberships were made by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman NAACP board of directors; Arkansas Teachers Association; John G. Lewis, member NAACP board and grand master, Louisiana Prince Hall Masons, Baton Rouge; Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, co-chairman of the Association's Life Membership Campaign Committee and president, Morehouse College, Atlanta; and Mrs. Joseph Kaplan, Newton Centre, Mass. The seventh person wishes to remain unidentified until completion of payment.

Serving as co-chairman with Dr. Mays is Kivie Kaplan, prominent Boston businessman who by the end of last year had secured 15 life members for the Association. Life memberships may now be purchased on a partial payment of at little as $50 annually.

NEW BARBADOS PREMIER PRAISED BY CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- The Hon. Grantley Adams, new Premier of Barbados, British West Indies, was warmly praised by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week for a "long and distinguished career in working for the common man."

A cable to Mr. Adams predicted for the new Premier a "distinguished record as the leader of Barbados." The message noted: "We are confident that what you do will call attention to the need of greater understanding by Great Britain, the United States and the world generally of the importance of the Caribbean to world peace and justice."

The communication was signed by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board, and Walter White, executive secretary.

SOUTH WON'T ABANDON PUBLIC EDUCATION, S.C. GROUP HEARS

February 4, 1954

CHARLESTON, S.C., Feb. 4.-- Enlightened public opinion in the South will not permit abolition of state public school systems should the U.S. Supreme Court rule against school segregation, a national civil rights leader declared here this week.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, pointed out that for states to contribute funds to private schools would be illegal.

The governors of South Carolina and Georgia recently have threatened to abolish their public schools by state constitutional amendments if ordered to integrate their public education systems.

"Byrnes and Talmadge," Mr. White continued, "haven't got a chance of abandoning public schools. Neither the intelligent white people nor intelligent Negroes would permit it. Such threats are merely excuses for further delays."

He told his audience of 3,500 that if the NAACP fails to win total victory in the five school segregation cases now pending before the Supreme Court, the organization will "go back to the Supreme Court again and again and again and never stop until every vestige of segregation in tax-supported education is wiped out in the U.S."

Mr. White spoke at Charleston's Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church on January 31.

WALTER WHITE FINDS UNREST ON TOUR OF CARIBBEAN AREA

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- Back from a two-week tour of two American territories and six British colonies in the Caribbean, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, this week expressed the opinion that "the political ferment in that region deserves the thoughtful attention of both races in America."

Accompanied by Mrs. White, the NAACP executive went first to Trinidad to which he had been invited by Mrs. Leonora McSchine, of the League of Women Voters, and Cyril Duprey, president of the Colonial Life Insurance Company in that island. He spoke at a mass meeting arranged from him in Port-of-Spain, and conferred with leaders and rank and file citizens in that city and elsewhere.

In British Guiana he found "the tension greater than at the time of the revocation of the Constitution by action of Great Britain." There is little doubt, Mr. White asserted, that "the Communists exert considerable influence within the ranks of the Peoples Progressive Party which won a majority in the colonial legislature elected prior to the suspension of the Constitution. However, the maximum number of persons in the colony faithfully following the Communist party line is estimated by the most conservative at no more than 20."

Communist propaganda in these countries has been facilitated, Mr. White stated, by the failure of the free world to make any substantial contributions to the improvement of conditions. "Vast sums have been made available to the mother countries," he said, "but, except for a few FOA and WHO projects, there is little evidence that the great powers are sharing international funds with the colonies."

Racial discrimination, Mr. White reported, while not as prevalent as in the United States, is widespread throughout the region. In Puerto Rico, he found a sharp wage differential maintained by the United States government. He cited the announcement of a vacancy at a U.S. Naval Station paying $6,032 for a citizen from the States and only $3,224 for a native Puerto Rican although the qualifications and responsibilities are identical.

Traveling at their own expense, the Whites visited the Virgin Islands, Grenada, Tobago, Barbados and Antigua in addition to Trinidad, British Guiana and Puerto Rico.

NATION MUST REPUDIATE RACE BIAS, NIXON SAYS

February 4, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 4.-- American youth must take the lead in proving to peoples of other lands that the United States is a true friend and not an exploiter of dependent nations, Vice President Richard Nixon told a national youth convention here last week.

Mr. Nixon addressed the closing session of a National Youth Legislative Conference sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on January 31. Originally scheduled to bring greetings to the conference, the Vice President spoke for 45 minutes.

"We must prove to peoples abroad that when we aid them economically we aid them not because we want them to be dependent, but because we want them to be independent of us," Mr. Nixon asserted. "Here is where youth comes in," he added, "to get the message across."

"If peoples are independent and have the right to determine what their governments are going to be, that is the key to peace," the Vice President declared. "If they are to become dependent you have planted the seeds of war."

Remarking that "young people seem to have so little of the prejudices and hatreds that some of their elders possess," Mr. Nixon urged his youthful audience and "every person, public or private" to work "to remove those areas of prejudices and hatreds."

"It is important for us in the United States to prove to all the world that here in this great democracy we are working toward the principles which will guarantee to all peoples, regardless of their national origin, background, color, creed, an equal opportunity--equal recognition under the law as American citizens."

The four-day youth convention was attended by 200 Negro and white delegates from 19 states and the District of Columbia.

BRANCHES CONTINUE GIFTS TO NAACP FIGHTING FUND

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- Contributions to the Fight for Freedom Fund amounting to $1,250 have been received by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during the past two weeks. Sixteen branches sent in more than $1,000. The remainder came from seven locals of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, and from four NAACP staff members.

The NAACP branches contributed as follows: Charleston, S.C., $500; Greenwich, Conn., $200; Kodiak, Alaska, $75; Paterson, N.J., $55; Balnew-Sparrows Point, Md., $30; Hartsville, S.C., $26; St. Louis, Mo., $25.06; Allentown, Pa., and Waterbury, Conn., $25 each; Mobile, Ala., $20; Flushing, N.Y., $15; Roanoke, Ala., $14.15; Kansas City, Mo., $12.85; Topeka, Kans., and Etowah County, Ala., $10 each; and Tuskegee, Ala., $5.

Local 60 ot the UPWA in Omaha, Neb., sent in a check for $50. Checks for $25 each were received from locals of the union in Waterloo, Iowa; Chicago; Denver and Newark. Locals in Fairbault, Minn. and Jersey City sent in $10 each.

Staff members assigned to the NAACP West Coast Regional office in San Francisco sent in a total of $35 with Franklin Williams, Lester Bailey and Miss Tarea Hall Pittman contributing $10 each and Miss Sadie Jean Kimes, $5.

EISENHOWER HOUSING MESSAGE LACKS MINORITY GROUP SAFEGUARDS--NAACP

February 4, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 4.-- President Eisenhower's Housing Message to Congress has been criticized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as not definite enough concerning the use of Federal funds for racially segregated housing units.

The President delivered his Housing Message to Congress on January 25. On the same day Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, issued the following statement:

"The Supreme Court has clearly said that the government may not be a party to racial segregation in housing. It must be assumed that the President's statement supports this principle and that in the future there will be no government assistance of any kind to housing that bars colored renters or buyers solely because of race. This is the only honorable position that the U.S. Government can take."

Concerning Federally-aided housing for members of minority groups, the President had stated in his message, in part:

"It must be frankly and honestly acknowledged that many members of minority groups, regardless of their income or their economic status, have had the least opportunity of all our citizens to acquire good homes.

"... The administrative policies governing the operations of the several housing agencies must be, and they will be, materially strengthened and augmented in order to assure equal opportunity for all of our citizens to acquire, within their means, good and well-located homes.

"We shall take steps to insure that families of minority groups displaced by urban redevelopment operations have a fair opportunity to acquire adequate housing..."

RACIAL VIOLENCE AVERTED IN STRIKE OF HAT MAKERS

February 4, 1954

NORWALK, Conn., Feb. 4.-- Tension between striking workers at the Hat Corporation of America here and a small band of strikebreakers--which threatened to erupt into community-wide violence--has been at least temporarily eased by swift action on the part of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Corporation's regular employees, members of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers of America International Union, A.F.L., have been on strike for 30 weeks as a protest against the Corporation's announced intention to move out of New England and open a substitute plant in the South.

The 1,300 hat workers on strike are mostly whites--reflecting the racial proportions of the area.

The strikebreakers imported by the Hat Corporation are primarily Negroes--many of whom are victims of discriminatory hiring practices and unable to secure other employment.

Thus, a situation which is basically economic has assumed racial overtones.

At first, the pickets tried verbal persuasion to keep the non union workers from entering the strike-bound plant. When this proved ineffective, scattered violence broke out between pickets and strikebreakers.

Racial epithets were used by white pickets against Negro strikebreakers.

The situation threatened to explode into a local race war.

Last week the NAACP stepped into the situation. Working through its national labor relations assistant, Herbert Hill, and Norwalk and Bridgeport chapters, the NAACP persuaded a number of the strikebreakers to leave the plant.

Mr. Hill noted today that intense efforts still are being made by the two local NAACP chapters to get the remainder of the strikebreakers out of the Hat Corporation plant. He said he hoped this would be accomplished within a short period of time.

SETS PRE-HEARING CONFERENCE ON TRAVEL SEGREGATION ISSUE

February 4, 1954

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.-- The pre-hearing conference on the complaint of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and 17 individuals against 11 railroad companies, a station and a restaurant has been postponed until March 3, the Interstate Commerce Commission has announced.

The complaint, attacking segregation in interstate transportation, was filed with the Commission on December 14 last. The pre-hearing conference was originally set for February 24. The conference will be held before Examiner Hosmer in Washington.

OPEN NOMINATIONS FOR 39th SPINGARN MEDAL

February 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.-- Nominations for the Spingarn Medal, awarded each year to a Negro American for distinguished achievement, are now being received by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Names of candidates, with supporting evidence of achievement, should be submitted to the Spingarn Award Committee at the NAACP national office, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

The award, established by the late J.E. Spingarn, is presented at the annual NAACP convention. Last year the 38th medal was presented to Paul Williams, the Los Angeles architect, at the Association's 44th annual convention in St. Louis.

Among other holders of the medal are Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Miss Marian Anderson, Walter White, the late Dr. Louis T. Wright, Thurgood Marshall, the late Charles H. Houston, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Judge William H. Hastie, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

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FOR RELEASE: February 18, 1954

TOBIAS SEES MARCH 10 CONFAB AS TURNING POINT IN HISTORY

February 18,1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 18.-- The one-day Freedom Fulfillment Conference called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington, March 10, "may well mark an historic milestone in our long struggle to achieve a truly democratic society," Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors, said today.

Indicating the importance of this conference, the NAACP chairman pointed to the enthusiastic response of the NAACP branches and other organizations and individuals throughout the country to the Fight for Freedom which will be formally launched at this conference. The Association's 1300 branches have been urged to send delegations to the Washington conference which will be addressed by President Eisenhower, Senator Herbert Lehman,and others.

The Fight for Freedom goal is the elimination of all racial discrimination and segregation by January 1, 1963, the 100th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

This conference, Dr. Tobias asserted, "may be a turning point, the beginning of the end of the disabilities imposed upon Negro citizens by law and custom and the indifference of the majority race."

"The President," he said, "has already indicated his desire to see the eradication of these evils and has backed up his expressions with positive action within the federal jurisdiction. Following the March 10 conference we may look forward to an intensification by the NAACP and others of their efforts to attain an America in which no man shall be favored or penalized because of his race, color, religion or national origin."

FEDERAL INTERVENTION ASKED TO QUELL VIOLENCE IN CHICAGO HOUSING PROJECT

February 18, 1954

CHICAGO, Ill., Feb. 18.-- The nation's largest civil rights organization called this week for intervention by President Eisenhower and U.S. Attorney General Brownell to protect the lives and property of six Negro families in a public housing project here. The Negro tenants, residents of federally-owned Trumbull Park Homes, have been subject to constant bombing attacks and other acts of lawless violence against them since they moved into the project several months ago.

In messages sent to President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell, the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pointed out that the rights of American Negro citizens living on U.S. property are being violated, and urged federal intervention "to the end that these violations cease and that the rights of the Negroes involved or who might become involved be protected and extended."

The NAACP this week also asked action from Illinois Governor Stratton and Chicago Mayor Kennelly to help put an end to the housing violence.

It requested the Governor to announce publicly that he will furnish state troops if necessary to "quell any riotous disturbances resulting from Negro citizens exercising their legal rights to move into any section of the City of Chicago."

"It is our belief that such an announcement by the Governor of the State would constitute a marked deterrent to the forces of lawlessness and violence in this and other areas of the city," the message added.

A letter sent to Mayor Kennelly reiterated a request for an NAACP conference with him on the Trumbull Park Homes situation, and asserted that "repeated attacks, bigoted attitudes and acts of violence against Negroes in the project" continue without "effective preventive and counter measures being taken by the City of Chicago."

Lack of action on the part of city officials and "continued silence" from the Mayor, the communication said, "can only lend hope and encouragement to the rioters."

"To meet this present situation and any further ones requires the full and open support, if not the leadership, of the top officialdom of the city from the Mayor down.

"The rioters must be told two things: one, that rioting will not accomplish their objectives and two, that persons engaging in such acts will be vigorously prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

"If there is a question of the ability of the Chicago Police Department to maintain law and order in the protection of the legal rights of Negroes, the NAACP recommends that you consider calling upon the Governor of the State for assistance from the forces under his jurisdiction."

NEW GOVERNOR OF VIRGIN ISLANDS PRAISED BY CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP

February 18, 1954

NEW YORK, N. Y., Feb. 18.-- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has congratulated U.S. Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay for his "excellent choice" of Archie A. Alexander as governor of the Virgin Islands.

A telegram sent to Mr. McKay by the NAACP this week affirmed Mr. Alexander's "brilliant experience" and declared that the new governor should "do a magnificent job in demonstrating in the strategically important Caribbean that ability and not color determines American policy in selection of public officials."

The communication was signed by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary. Mr. White also sent a telegram of congratulations to Mr. Alexander.

Mr. Alexander, a senior partner in the interracial engineering firm of Alexander and Repass in Des Moines, Ia., is a charter member and former president of the Des Moines branch of the NAACP.

SOUTHEAST CONVENTION TO SPOTLIGHT DESEGREGATING COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES

Feb.18,1954

SAVANNAH, Ga., Feb. 18.-- Legal steps necessary to eliminate segregation in state colleges and universities will be scrutinized at a Southeast regional conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here, February 26-28.

NAACP delegates from seven Southeast states will hear Attorneys Spottswood W. Robinson III, Richmond, Va., and Robert L. Carter, N.Y., discuss ways to strike down race barriers in five southern states which have not yet opened state schools of higher education to Negro students.

The Hon. Hubert T. Delany, judge in the Court of Domestic Relations, New York City, will deliver the major address at a Freedom

Rally closing the three-day convention.

At an earlier session, Dr. D.J. Odom, Jr., of Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga., will speak on preparation for living in a desegregated society. Dr. Odom is dean of students and director of religious activities at the college.

Delegates from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee are expected to attend the conference. They will represent NAACP branches, youth councils, and college chapters.

BRANCHES LEAD IN GIFTS TO NAACP FREEDOM FIGHT

February 18, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 18.-- Branches, churches and individuals this week contributed a total of $727.85 to the Fight for Freedom Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Contributions from branches, some of which were donated by local church groups in observance of NAACP Sunday, included: Ansonia, Conn., $100; Chicago Heights, Ill., $41.11; Parkersburg, W.Va., $32.50; Norwalk, Conn., $31.10; Dothan, Ala., $30.00; Saginaw, Mich., $25.04; Three Rivers, Mich., $18.75; Wadmalaw Island, S.C., $15.00; Laurel, Miss., $11.60; and $5.00 from the Brooklyn, N.Y., College Chapter.

Contributions received directly from churches included $50 from the A.M.E. Zion Church, Salisbury, N.C., and $32.75 from the Pilgrim Baptist Church, St. Paul, Minn. Individual contributors included Mrs. Herbert Scoville, Taconic, Conn., $100; Mrs. Hendley Calloway, New York City, $50; and an anonymous person who donated $185.

BIRMINGHAM REDEVELOPMENT PLAN PERPETUATES SEGREGATION -- NAACP

February 18, 1954

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Feb. 18.-- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has urged President Eisenhower to give close attention to a proposed redevelopment plan here.

As it stands, the plan will allocate several millions of dollars for slum clearance and redevelopment in the Birmingham Medical Center area. Federal funds will be used in the project.

A telegram sent to the Chief Executive this week by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP Southeast regional secretary, names as NAACP objections to the plan: inadequate housing facilities for persons displaced by the redevelopment, segregation in hospital facilities in the area; and prohibitions barring Negro physicians from attending their patients in Jefferson-Hillman Hospital.

"As much as we want to see all of the slums cleared and redeveloped for the improvement of our city," the telegram notes, "we must continue to object to the use of federal funds for a project which smells of 'Negro clearance' instead of slum clearance and, to add insult to injury, perpetuates a pattern of segregation which is as outdated and outmoded as slavery."

SKIDMORE STUDENTS HEAR NAACP LABOR ASSISTANT

ALBANY, N.Y., Feb. 18.-- Climaxing a series of six lectures at Skidmore College, fashionable women's institution here, Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, charged New York State with failure to meet its obligations to migrant farm workers. He spoke over Radio Station WGY.

Mr. Hill, who has organized campaigns to secure legislation to protect migrant laborers in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and elsewhere, declared that such workers "enrich the prosperity of the state," which in turn has an "obligation to meet the basic needs of its temporary residents and not set them apart by denying them the protection of the social welfare and labor legislation available to others."

The NAACP representative cited the proposals he had made to the New York State Industrial Commissioner and to a Joint Legislative Committee for revision of present statutes governing migrant labor.

While at the college last week, Mr. Hill organized a chapter of the youth division of the NAACP.

ROSCOE DUNJEE LAUDED BY NAACP SECRETARY

February 18, 1954

OKLAHOMA CITY, Feb. 18.-- The Black Dispatch, the Southwest's leading weekly, and its veteran editor, Roscoe Dunjee, were felicitated by Walter White and others on the occasion of its 40th anniversary last week.

In a recorded message broadcast over Radio Station KBYE, Mr. White paid tribute to the "courageous crusading spirit of Roscoe Dunjee who I have never known to compromise or falter when a basic principle was at stake." The Black Dispatch, the NAACP executive said, "is one of the few militant organs of public opinion remaining today in the United States."

The newspaper was founded 40 years ago by Mr. Dunjee. The veteran publisher and editor is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

NAACP YOUTH OFFICIAL ARRIVES IN TEXAS FOR STATE TOUR

February 18, 1954

FT. WORTH, Texas, Feb. 18.-- Herbert L. Wright, youth secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, arrived here today on the first stop of a tour of the state.

Mr. Wright will spend three weeks in Texas to enlarge NAACP youth and college program in the state, prior to the NAACP annual convention in Dallas this June.

After his one-day stop here, Mr. Wright will visit Austin, San Antonio, Corpus Christi, Houston, Galveston, Beaumont and Dallas.

NEW YORK PUBLISHER BECOMES NEW LIFE MEMBER OF NAACP

February 18, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 18.-- Mrs. Dorothy Schiff, publisher of The New York Post, liberal daily, this week became a $500 life member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Other new life members are Presly Holiday of Washington and the East Texas Woman's Auxiliary to the Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association. Officers of the auxiliary are Mrs. F.E. Williams, Sr., president; Mrs. Martin L. Edwards, secretary; and Mrs. Frank E. Williams, Jr., treasurer.

Initial payments on NAACP life memberships were also made by George R. Willis, Fresno, Calif.; Louis E. Martin, editor, The Chicago Defender; Judge Thomas Dickens, New York; and Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore.

CIO, NAACP NATIONAL OFFICE START CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS

February 18, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 18.-- Negotiations for a new union contract are underway between the national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Local 1707, Community and Social Agency Employees Union, CIO.

The Union, which is affiliated with the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, CIO, has been the official bargaining agent for employees of the NAACP national office since 1949. It works exclusively in the non-profit field.

STRIKEBREAKERS QUIT STRUCK HAT PLANT

February 18, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 18.-- Many Negro workers used as strikebreakers in the labor dispute between the Hat Corporation of America and the Hat Workers Union, AFL, in Norwalk, Conn., have left the struck plant, Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported this week.

Withdrawal of these workers, Mr. Hill said, followed intervention by the Norwalk and Bridgeport NAACP branches which invited him to join them in averting a possible racial conflict growing out of the strike situation. Committees were organized to work with the union and to contact the non-union employees.

In a statement published in the Norwalk papers, the NAACP branches "deplored the current practice of the Hat Corporation of... America in using some Negro workers for strike-breaking purposes ... An investigation has disclosed that the corporation has approached employment agencies largely patronized by Negroes and has solicited unemployed Negro workers for strike-breaking by other means."

Negro members of the union, Mr. Hill pointed out, have steadfastly refused to cross the picket line and have maintained a solid front with the white union members.

LECTURE HONORS MEMORY OF DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT

February 17, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 17.-- The first annual Louis T. Wright Memorial lecture was delivered at Harlem Hospital here today by Dr. J. William Hinton, professor of surgery at the Post Graduate Medical School of New York University. Dr. Hinton lectured on "Cardiac Arrest" and new methods of handling this surgical hazard.

Dr. W. Montague Cobb, professor of anatomy at the Howard University Medical College, reviewed Dr. Wright's distinguished career as a surgeon and as a civic leader. Dr. Wright, former chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, gave 30 years of service to Harlem Hospital. At the time of death in 1952, he was director of surgery at the hospital and chairman of its medical board.

NEWS FROM
NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET | NEW YORK 18, N. Y. | LONGACRE 3-6890
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
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DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

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FOR RELEASE: February 25, 1954

LODGE TO ADDRESS KICK-OFF CONFERENCE OF NAACP FIGHT FOR FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

February 25, 1954

NEW YORK, N. Y., Feb. 25: -- Henry Cabot Lodge, permanent representative on the U. S. delegation to the United Nations, will address the one-day Freedom Fulfillment Conference of the NAACP next month, it was announced here today by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary.

The conference, which also will be addressed by President Eisenhower and Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York, is scheduled for March 10 in Washington, D.C. The event will formally launch the NAACP Fight for Freedom campaign, which aims to eliminate all racial discrimination and segregation by January 1, 1963 -- the 100th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

Delegates to the convention also will hear top NAACP officials including Arthur B. Spingarn, president; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors; Carl Johnson, Kansas City, Mo., attorney and member of the Board, and Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, Pittsburgh, also a Board member.

At the conference, delegates from the Association's 1,300 branches in all sections of the nation will consider ways of stepping up the NAACP's anti-discrimination work, and methods of raising $1,000,000 annually to implement the Fight for Freedom campaign.

The Fight for Freedom campaign was adopted by the NAACP at its annual convention in St. Louis last summer.

RECESSION SHARPENS JOB BIAS, WHITE TELLS SENATE COMMITTEE

February 25, 1954

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25.--Racial discrimination in employment has been accentuated by growing unemployment, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Senate Labor Committee today at a hearing on an FEPC bill.

"We have been carefully watching the affects of unemployment throughout the United States", Mr. White said, "and we know that the occupational groupings of colored workers makes them more susceptible to unemployment in times of stress. Thus a colored individual is penalized doubly because of his race. He is arbitrarily denied employment at a job for which he may be qualified and thereafter is put on a job requiring little or no skill. This makes him an employee who may be most readily sacrificed in time of retrenchment."

The NAACP executive cited a U.S. Census report indicating that unemployment among Negro men was twice that among white males in January. "The Bureau of Employment Security," he said, "believes we have reached a danger point in our economy when more than 5 per cent of the population is unemployed. Under this rule, since December, 1953, the colored people of the United States have been at a critical point of unemployment. So far as they are concerned the depression which many persons discuss from an academic standpoint is now here. Unemployment in December was 2.7 for the white population and 5.2 for Negroes. In January the Census figure for unemployment was 3.5 for the white population and 6.1 for the colored. It was even worse among colored male workers because unemployment among them was 7 per cent as compared with 3.5 per cent for white men."

The movement southward of many large industries has also sharpened job discrimination, Mr. White charged. "Often companies which have good employment policies in one location become some of the most timid and discriminatory in other locations," he asserted and cited as examples Western Electric, General Electric, Lockheed, and the Telephone Company.

The NAACP spokesman opened his testimony with an expression of "deep concern" about the postponement of the hearing which was originally scheduled for January 12. "Past experience," he said, "has shown that this type of postponement alone could deal a fatal blow to chances of consideration of fair employment legislation in this session of the Congress,"

Moreover, he pointed out, the Senate Judiciary subcommittee, under guise of holding hearings on a proposal to establish a federal commission on civil rights, attempted "to propose S.1 as a substitute for fair employment legislation with enforcement powers." In support of S.692, the bill before the Labor Committee with "fair and reasonable enforcement provisions, Mr. White said "it would be useless to have a law that merely calls attention to the problem of discrimination but fails to provide any means for correcting the problem which has been established."

Others testifying in behalf of the bill included Walter Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt (D.,N.Y.), Clarence Mitchell, director, NAACP Washington Bureau, Senator Wayne Morse (Ind., Ore.), and Representative Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.).

BYRNES, TALMADGE, CALLED ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY

For Release after 3 P.M., Sunday Feb. 28

SAVANNAH, Ga., Feb. 28: -- A scathing attack on James F.Byrnes and Herman Talmadge as "enemies of our democratic form of government" was made here today by a distinguished judge and civil rights leader.

Judge Hubert T. Delany of New York City scored recent tactics of the two Southern governors to evade a possible Supreme Court decisic eliminating public school segregation.

"These men have indicated that they will defy the authority of the Supreme Court when it hands down the only decision we can fairly expect," Judge Delany declared. "They are the enemies of our democrati form of government."

"You do not need to be a Supreme Court jurist to know that segregation is *per se* inequality," he continued. "Judge J. Waties Waring, that distinguished jurist from South Carolina, told us that in 1951 when the Clarendon County case was originally decided."

"Do not be afraid of the propaganda of Byrnes and Talmadge and their ilk. Do not believe it when you hear it said that the public schools will close, that Negro teachers and principals will lose their jobs, that blood will flow in the streets of the South when the decision is handed down.

"We will not provoke others to fight, but we shall stand up like men and women unafraid to be free and equal with our fellow men. We shall defend our right to be free."

Mr. Delany, judge of Domestic Relations Court in New York City, spoke at a mass meeting sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The meeting, held in a local church, concluded a three-day NAACP Southeast regional conference convened under the general theme, "Life begins with first-class citizenship."

Byrnes and Talmadge, governors of South Carolina and Georgia, respectively, have threatened to turn their states' public schools over to private operators if the Supreme Court rules against segregated public schools.

Other speakers at the convention -- the second Southeast regional conference to be sponsored by the NAACP -- included Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau; NAACP Attorneys Spottswood Robinson, III, of Richmond, Va., and Robert L. Carter of New York City; the Rev. D. J. Odom, Jr., dean of students and director of religious activities at Morris Brown College, Atlanta; Gloster B. Current, NAACP director of branches; and Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary.

Delegates from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina attended the sessions. They represented NAACP branches, youth councils and college chapters.

NEW YORK CHILDREN AID
NAACP FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

February 25, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y., Feb. 25: -- Children at a synogogue here foreswore candy and the movies this week to contribute a sizeable sum of money to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign. The amount received by the NAACP from children at the Stephen Wise Free Synogogue was $37.60.

During the same week in another locality members of a college sorority pooled their financial resources to forward $100.00 to the same cause. The sorority sisters belong to Zeta Phi Beta in Hampton, Va.

In another section of the South, Mr. B. T. Williams of Mocksville, N.C., this week contributed $10.40 to the NAACP's fight for civil rights in the South and in the rest of the nation.

Seven NAACP branches, both North and South, donated a total of $188.58 to the Fight for Freedom campaign this week. Branches and the amounts contributed were: Galveston, Tex., $50.00; Frogmore, S.C., $50.00; Battle Creek, Mich., $29.75; Peoria, Ill., $20.00; Newark, Delaware, $19.28; Danville, Ill., $15.25; and Hobart, Okla., $4.30.

NAACP BRANCHES BEGIN CAMPAIGN FOR MEMBERS

February 25, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 25: -- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is seeking 303,600 members for 1954, Judge Hubert T. Delany, chairman of the Association's committee on branches and youth work, announced today. Spring membership drives are scheduled for April, May and June. Fall membership campaigns will be held in September, October and November.

Meanwhile, Miss Lucille Black, membership secretary, reported that nine cities are getting a head start in the spring drives with campaigns already under way in Chattanooga, Tenn., New Orleans and Washington.

Miss Gertrude Gorman, assistant field secretary, has been assigned to Chattanooga to help that branch reach its goal of 3,000. New Orlean and Washington have goals of 5,000 each. Miss Mildred Bond of the branch department staff is assisting in Washington.

Under chairmanship of Dr. S. F. Coppage, the Norfolk, Va., branch opens its drive for 2,500 members on March 1. Kansas City, Kans., also seeking 2,500 members, and Wilmington, Del., with a goal of 1,500, begin their drives on March 1. John Flamer of the NAACP field staff is assisting in Wilmington.

The following week, March 8, Knoxville, Tenn., will begin its campaign with J. D. Rucker as chairman. The branch seeks 2,000 members. Portland, Ore., will open its drive for 1,000 members at a mass meeting on March 16 to be addressed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel. Atlanta, with a goal of 10,000, will have Mr. Marshall and Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, as speakers at a mass meeting on March 28.

Regional Goals

Regional goals have been set as follows:

Region I - 17,650: Arizona, California, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Territory of Alaska.

Region II - 62,750: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island.

Region III - 57,825: Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Region IV - 18,300: Iowa, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, South Dakota, Wyoming.

Region V - 67,475: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

Region VI - 42,300: Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas.

Region VII - 37,300: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland and Virginia.

NEW MIGRANT LAWS FOR NEW YORK STATE PUSHED BY NAACP

February 25, 1954

ALBANY, N.Y., Feb. 25: -- Four bills governing migrant farm labor, introduced into the State Legislature here last week, contain proposals made by the NAACP and are being actively promoted by the Association in a statewide campaign to secure their passage.

A bill on child labor, introduced at the same time, is under attack by the NAACP for weakening present restrictions on employment of children.

Reporting from the state capitol, where he has been conferring with senators and assemblymen on the bills, Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant, noted that the legislation concerned with migrant farm workers includes the following proposals:

-- Licensing and regulation of farm labor contractors and crew leaders;

-- Enforcement of decent working conditions for migrant farm workers;

-- Enforcement of better living conditions at farm labor camps than is now required by law; and

-- Stronger enforcement procedures governing specific health and sanitary conditions at migrant labor camps.

Mr. Hill pointed out that the proposal to license farm labor agents, dependent on their maintenance of decent working conditions, originally was made by the NAACP. The suggestion was contained in testimony given by Mr. Hill before the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor last September, as well as in memoranda submitted by Mr. Hill to the State Department of Labor.

The four bills on migrant agricultural labor were introduced into the State Legislature by Senator Van Lare of Buffalo.

The fifth bill currently receiving attention from the NAACP proposes to lower the legal working age for children from 14 to 12 years, and would require neither parental consent to work nor a medical examination as is now prescribed for 14-year-olds by law.

The bill was introduced by Senator Hatfield of Dutchess County.

In a conference with Senator Hatfield here this week, Mr. Hill told the legislator that his proposed bill would provide a "legal basis for extreme exploitation of unfortunate children."

"The major victims of this bill will be the many thousands of Negro children whose parents are migrant agricultural workers," Mr. Hill declared. "These children already are denied the minimum conditions for a decent and healthful life. Many of them never have had the opportunity to see the inside of a classroom."

Mr. Hill called the Hatfield bill a "danger" which all church, social welfare and labor organizations in the state must mobilize to defeat.

CELEBRATE 15th AMENDMENT BY VOTING, NAACP URGES

February 25, 1954

CHICAGO, Feb. 25. -- In observance of the 85th anniversary of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, Feb. 26, the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has called upon all citizens to register and vote. Primary elections are held in Chicago in April.

In a statement issued over the signatures of Mrs. Cora M. Patton, president, and Gerald D. Bullock, chairman of the legislative committee, the branch has urged "all Americans to celebrate this anniversary, and especially all colored Americans and members of other minority groups since it was the Fifteenth Amendment that made all men politically equal in our democracy."

The statement further called upon all Negro Americans "to fully make use of the opportunity the amendment affords to make themselves felt in the political life of the nation."

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION CITES DETROIT NAACP

February 25, 1954

DETROIT, Feb. 25. -- The Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week became the proud possessor of an Honor Certificate from the Freedoms Foundation. The certificate was bestowed upon the branch at the traditional ceremonies of the Foundation in Valley Forge, Pa., on Feb. 22. The work of the branch during 1953 in the fields of housing, political action and employment was cited by the Foundation.

FEDERAL PROBE SOUGHT OF CHICAGO HOUSING VIOLENCE

February 25, 1954

NEW YORK, Feb. 25. -- The "protection of the federal government" has been sought for the Trumbull Park Project in Chicago which has been the scene of repeated violence by hoodlums since it first admitted Negro families last year.

In a telegram to President Eisenhower, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, pointed out that "this project is completely owned by the federal government" and that, accordingly, "the violence in Chicago is a direct challenge to federal authority."

"We urge that full protection of the federal government be given to persons and to the property. We ask FBI investigation of this case and prosecution of those who have started and continue to make trouble," he said.

A similar request for FBI investigation was made of Attorney General Herbert Brownell.

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NEWS FROM
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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: March 4, 1954

NAACP LOCAL LEADERS TO MAP ACTION FOR 1954

March 4, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y., March 4: -- Intensive training sessions for local leaders of the NAACP to familiarize them with the scope and techniques of the Association's work in civil rights, housing, political action and fund raising for 1954 will be conducted at three NAACP regional conferences scheduled for April.

A special workshop devoted to the Fight for Freedom campaign of the Association also will be held at each of the conferences, it was announced this week by Gloster B. Current, director of NAACP branches.

The Fight for Freedom campaign, adopted by the Association at its annual convention last year, aims to step up the NAACP's civil rights work during the next decade to achieve full equality for America's 15,000,000 Negro citizens by January 1, 1963, the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The regional conferences will be host to leaders from NAACP branches, youth councils and college chapters.

The first conference, April 2 to 4, will be held in Louisville, Ky., for delegates from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

A conference April 9 and 10 in New York City will have delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

The third conference will be held April 23 to 25 in Omaha, Neb., for delegates from Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Montana, South Dakota and Wyoming.

MAYOR REFUSES TO ACT ON CHICAGO HOUSING VIOLENCE

March 4, 1954

CHICAGO, Ill., March 4: -- A personal request to Mayor Kennelly by the Chicago branch of the NAACP, asking the mayor to state publicly that hoodlums engaging in unlawful attacks on Negro families in the Trumbull Park housing project would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, was denied by Mr. Kennelly this week.

At the same time, in a conference held in the mayor's office, Chicago Police Commissioner O'Connor asserted that the Police Department has adequate manpower to maintain law and order at Trumbull Park or any other housing project where anti-Negro violence may occur.

Further requests by NAACP representative Willoughy Abner that Mayor Kennelly openly support a non-discriminatory policy in admittance to all Chicago Housing Authority projects and support efforts by Negro families to move into the projects also met with a negative reply from Mr. Kennelly.

Mr. Abner is chairman of the executive committee of the NAACP's Chicago branch. He headed a delegation of four NAACP branch officers.

The federally-owned Trumbull Park housing project has been the scene of violent acts since it first admitted Negro families last year. Last week NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White asked federal intervention to curb lawless hoodlumism on the U.S. government property.

After the meeting with the mayor here, Police Commissioner O'Connor announced that he will take action to stop violence at the Trumbull Park project.

"We are going to stop all disorders," Mr. O'Connor declared. "That is our job. The situation that has existed at the project cannot continue any longer. It must be ended without delay, and it will."

A mass meeting on the housing situation here will be held March 7, co-sponsored by the Chicago branch of the NAACP and the Ministers Alliance of Community Churches of Chicago.

At the meeting, reports will be given on the Trumbull Park situation and other housing problems in the city as they effect Negroes and other minority groups.

Mrs. Cora M. Patton, president of the Chicago NAACP, said the meeting will support the Donald Howard family in their fight against eviction from Trumbull Park Homes. The Howard case has been appealed by attorneys for the NAACP, who charged that the eviction action was based on racial grounds, and not on grounds of falsification of income, as the Chicago Housing Authority contends.

CHOICE BEFORE PEOPLE, PRESIDENT OR McCARTHY, WALTER WHITE ASSERTS

March 4, 1954

GREAT NECK, L.I., March 4:--Addressing the 12th anniversary banquet of the Great Neck branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White, executive secretary, spoke of the global implications of America's racial policy.

"The peoples of the world, two-thirds of whom are colored," Mr. White said, "are very much concerned with how colored people in this country fare. These peoples are now largely uncommitted. Whether they will in the end side with the free world or with the Soviet world depends, in some measure, upon how they react to the treatment of minorities in this country. Their friendship is vital to us in that many of the raw materials essential to our industrial production are found in Asia, Africa, and South America."

While asserting "the right and duty of congressional committees to make investigations," Mr. White warned that "such hearings should always be conducted with scrupulous regard for constitutional guarantees of impartiality and fair play." Disregard for these guarantees, he said, endangered our national freedoms.

"The important decision before the American people today," he declared, "is the choice between the leadership of President Eisenhower and that of Senator McCarthy."

Mrs. Anne J. Aldrich, president of the branch, introduced Mr. White to the 250 members and guests who attended the dinner meeting.

FOR PUBLICATION AFTER 12:30 P.M., WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1954:

NAACP DELEGATES HEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

WASHINGTON, March 10:--State and local leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from all sections of the country today were greeted by President Eisenhower at the Association's one-day Freedom Fulfillment Conference in the Departmental Auditorium here.

Also scheduled for participation on the program of the conference were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director, United Nations Trusteeship Division; Senator Herbert H. Lehman; and such NAACP spokesmen as Arthur B. Spingarn, president; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors; Board members Carl Johnson, Kansas City, Mo., Kelly Alexander, Charlotte, N.C. and Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, Pittsburgh; and Walter White, executive secretary.

The conference was called by the NAACP to launch formally the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign which first was announced at the 44th annual NAACP convention in St. Louis last June. The goal of the campaign is the complete elimination of racial discrimination and segregation by January 1, 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. To underwrite this campaign, the NAACP is seeking a Million Dollars a year. Such a fund will enable the Association to accelerate and expand its program of activities.

NAACP BRANCH IN DEEP SOUTH LAUNCHES INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN

March 4, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y., March 4:--In America's deep South, where the sorry heritage of slavery still haunts the life and work of the Negro, a local branch of the NAACP has launched its most intensive campaign to date for full and equal rights for citizens of both races.

In Atlanta, Ga., under the rule of white supremacist Governor Herman Talmadge, the local NAACP branch has set in motion machinery for a 10,000 membership goal campaign, its "most intensive campaign against second-class citizenship," according to campaign director and first vice-president J.H. Calhoun.

A local cosmetics manufacturer, William S. Cannon, has accepted chairmanship of the membership campaign.

During the campaign, speakers will be provided for all meetings through a 100-member speakers' bureau set up by the branch program committee. Mr. Calhoun said the campaign also will utilize all publicity media, including newspapers, radio, television, window displays, campaign booths, cannister collections, stickers and auto bumper cards.

The story is told in the March issue of The Crisis, official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

NBC'S MORGAN BEATTY CLAIMS "NO PREJUDICE" IN USE OF RACE TERM

March 4, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 4:--Morgan Beatty, NBC radio newscaster, has informed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that he "had no prejudices" in reporting a recent story of theft from the U.S. Bureau of Printing and Engraving.

On his program, Mr. Beatty had used the term "Negress" in reporting events in connection with the theft.

A protest against Mr. Beatty's handling of the story, sent to the newscaster by NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White, declared: "I hope in the future you will refrain from the use of the word 'Negress', to which most Negroes object, and also abstain from identification by race of persons accused of crime."

Mr. Beatty replied that "the description was used merely as a means of identifying to the greatest degree possible the culprits involved."

BRANCHES, CHURCHES GIVE TO NAACP FIGHTING FUND

March 4, 1954

NEW YORK, March 4:--Four units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last week contributed a total of $394.20 to the Association's Fight for Freedom Fund.

Leading the contributors was the Great Neck, N.Y., unit which presented a check of $250 to Walter White at the branch's 12th anniversary banquet. Other contributions included $69.20 from the Staten Island, N.Y., branch; $50, Minnesota State Conference; and $25, Gary, Ind.

Temple Beth-El of Spring Valley, N.Y., sent in $25. In observance of NAACP Sunday, churches contributed as follows through the local branches: Staten Island,

$22; Roswell, N.M., $12.50; Reno-Sparks, Nev., $10; Pendleton, S.C., $6.89; and Chicago Heights, Ill., Covington, La., and Salt Lake City, $5.00 each.

The initial payment on a $500 life membership was received from the Alpha Chi Sigma chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority in Jackson, Miss.

WHITE WRITES ON CARIBBEAN TOUR

March 4, 1954

NEW YORK, March 4:--Low living standards and lack of opportunity to improve them were responsible for the triumph of the left-wing Peoples Progressive Party in British Guiana, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, points out in the first of a series of two articles published by the New York Herald Tribune.

The second article, scheduled for publication on Sunday, March 7, explores conditions in Barbados and Trinidad. The first article appeared in the issue of Feb. 28. Mr. and Mrs. White toured the Caribbean in January.

SHUN JIM CROW CITY, NAACP URGES APWA

March 4, 1954

LAS VEGAS, Nev., March 4:--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has urged the American Public Welfare Association to cancel its scheduled annual conference here.

Action was taken last week-end at a conference of the southern area council of the NAACP held here in an area called "the Mississippi of the West" because of its primitive racial attitudes.

In a letter to Miss Lulu Dunn, national director of the APWA, the NAACP unit detailed the "general policy of exclusion, segregation and other forms of discrimination" which prevails in this community. Accordingly, the letter said, "We urge the APWA to move its western region annual conference from the State of Nevada to some other western city and state where all delegates, regardless of race, color or national orgin, may meet and hold sessions in an atmosphere in keeping with the letter and spirit of our American democracy."

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NEWS FROM
NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET · NEW YORK 18, N. Y. · LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: March 11, 1954

EISENHOWER GIVES NOD TO NAACP FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

1,300 Delegates from 36 States Pledge Half of $1,000,000 Annual Fund to End Race Bias

March 11, 1954

WASHINGTON, March 11.--The campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to win complete freedom for Negro Americans by January 1, 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, has been formally launched with Presidential approbation.

Addressing 1,300 delegates from 36 states at the NAACP-sponsored Freedom Fulfillment Conference here on March 10, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, extended "good wishes for the prosecution of their work." Presented to the audience by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors, and warmly received by the officers and members of the Association, the President reiterated his pledge to do his "utmost, wherever the federal authority clearly extends, to bring into reality the ideal of equality among all men who assume the responsibility."

In pursuit of this goal, he said, "great progress has been made" in two areas--the armed forces and the District of Columbia. "With respect to these," he went on, "I expressed certain convictions and determinations. In not all cases have the full results been achieved, but we are still trying."

Reaffirms Lincoln Creed

"I believe most sincerely in the statement of Lincoln that this nation was 'dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal'," the President affirmed. "I believe with the authors of the Declaration of Independence that men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and furthermore, I believe that the vast majority, the great mass of Americans, wants to make those concepts a living reality in their lives... They do not want to make differentiations among peoples based upon inconsequential matters of nature involving color and race."

Joining the President in speaking to the conference were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director, Trusteeship Division of the United Nations; Senator Herbert Lehman of New York; and the following NAACP officials, Arthur B. Spingarn, president; Dr. Tobias; Kelly Alexander, president, North Carolina State NAACP; Walter White, executive secretary; and Franklin H. Williams, NAACP West Coast regional director. Messages from Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Paul Hoffman and the Rev. John Haynes Holmes were read by Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator.

The delegates made commitments to raise this year in their respective local communities and states a total of more than $500,000 in the Association's drive to raise a Million Dollars annually for its Fight for Freedom. Reports were made by the delegates on local plans and progress in the campaign to eliminate all racial discrimination and segregation before the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Welcomed by Spingarn

Welcoming the delegates to the conference, Mr. Spingarn recalled that the Fight for Freedom campaign was initiated by Dr. Tobias at the NAACP convention in St. Louis last June. The one-day meeting, he said, "promises to become an historic occasion," forecasting "the final phase of our work to remove the last vestige of racial disabilities."

Mr. Spingarn recounted "substantial gains" made since 1909 when the NAACP was conceived. These gains, he asserted, "have been made largely due to the unrelenting, uncompromising and insistent struggle of our Association. We have resisted and attacked racial discrimination and segregation on every level and in all sections of the country."

Senator Lehman Speaks

Senator Lehman departed from his prepared text to tell the audience that his FEPC had been favorably reported out of the Senate Labor Committee that morning. He warned, however, that this step by no means assures victory for the bill to provide equality of job opportunity.

Speaking for his measure which has enforcement powers, the New York senator said that those who believe in a purely educational FEPC are "either deluded or insincere."

Enactment of a purely educational measure, he declared, "would constitute an illusion of progress, without any significant progress at all. Such a measure," he warned, "would lull many people into believing that something had been done, that an obligation had been discharged, that a responsibility had been met. It would appease some guilty consciences. It would provide a basis for a claim of accomplishment. But it would actually accomplish little, if anything. It would constitute running backward."

To Continue Fight

Speaking on plans for the future, Mr. White warned that should adverse decisions be handed down in the pending public school segregation cases, "We shall not be deterred but will go back again and again until every vestige of racial separation in schools or other tax-supported institutions is abolished. This will be done under the brilliant, phenomenally successful direction of our legal staff headed by Thurgood Marshall, our distinguished special counsel.

"We of the NAACP do not believe, and we totally reject the assertions of certain demagogues, that the people of the South are so subversively lawless that they will meet with violence Supreme Court decisions against segregation. Should any deliberately fomented violence occur, it will most assuredly not be of our making. We are confident that federal and state law enforcement agencies will swiftly and vigorously take care of trouble-makers."

Mr. White said he was "embarrassed and humiliated" by the charge of race discrimination in the United States made at the Inter-American Conference in Caracas. "I'm all the more embarrassed," he declared, "because we all know that the charge made by Mrs. Cecelia Panel de Remon, wife of the President of Panama, is true."

Bunche Cites Bias Costs

It is impossible, Dr. Bunche told the delegates, "to calculate the tremendous costs to the nation of racial and religious bigotry. They are a seriously divisive influence amongst all our people. They spread the venom of racial and religious hatred amongst us. They create resentment, unrest and disturbances in our communities. They deprive us of our maximum national unity at a time when our way of life and and all that we stand for is gravely threatened from without. They prevent us from using a substantial part of our manpower effectively even though we are seriously short of manpower to meet the change confronting us from abroad."

The goal of the Negro American, the UN official said, "is as simple as it is fair. He asks that he be weighed and treated in the society on the same scale and basis as every other citizen; that he be accepted or rejected, not as a group on the automatic basis of his color, but as an individual, in accordance with whatever merit he may possess."

Report from the Regions

"Any politician or government official who says that Negroes in the South are satisfied with segregation is misrepresenting the truth," Mr. Alexander declared. "It is our belief that if the Negro is going to have freedom and justice and be an American citizen, segregation must go. We don't want to be kept in a position part-free, part-equal, part-citizen and part-man. We want to enjoy full rights of citizenship," the militant NAACP leader in North Carolina told the conference.

Reporting on developments on the West Coast, Mr. Williams said that there was a tendency among many Negroes who have fled the South and settled in the West to believe that their problem is solved.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," the NAACP's director-counsel from San Francisco, asserted. "There is plenty of discrimination and segregation in the western states and it is our responsibility to step up the fight against bias in this multi-racial region."

"The Achilles Heel"

In a message read by Mr. Wilkins, Ambassador Lodge, head of the United States delegation to the United Nations, conceded that racial discrimination is "our most vulnerable point--the Achilles heel of our foreign policy."

"We live in a world in which anything that happens in the United States that savors of racial discrimination is seized upon by the enemies of our country and is used with great effect to stir up hatred against us...Our Vice President, Richard Nixon, confirmed this recently after his return from the Far East. He said that 'the performances and activities of Americans, both individually and collectively, in matters of discrimination have a profound reaction throughout the Far East.' No single step that we could take would do our country's prestige more good in the world than to solve all these racial problems."

The Closing Word

Concluding the day's activities, Dr. Tobias made an appeal for mass support of the NAACP and the Fight for Freedom. "Not only should individuals respond to the NAACP call," he said, "but organizations of every kind should join with us for the NAACP is a unique association not in competition with any other organization. Whatever its program may be, every organization of a social, civic, educational, fraternal, or economic nature should support the fight which this organization is making for physical as well as spiritual emancipation."

In addition to White, Wilkins and Williams, staff members who spoke at the conference included Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau; Gloster B. Current, director of branches; and Edward R. Dudley, special assistant in charge of the Fight for Freedom.

The morning session of the day-long conference was presided over by Carl Johnson, president of the Kansas City, Mo., NAACP branch and a member of the national Board of Directors. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin of Pittsburgh, also a board member, was chairman of the afternoon session. Music was rendered by the Howard University Choir under the direction of Warner Lawson. The Rt. Rev. Stephen G. Spottswood, Bishop of the AME Zion Church opened the meeting with an invocation.

The conference received extensive newspaper, radio, television and newsreel coverage.

FAMOUS AMERICANS BECOME LIFE MEMBERS OF NAACP

March 11, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y., March 11.--A **distinguished** American playwright who twice was awarded the Pulitzer Prize, and two members of one of America's most famous families in public life were among those who last week made initial payments on life memberships in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Robert E. Sherwood, author of such noted plays as "There Shall Be No Night," "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," and "The Petrified Forest," and the historical work, "Roosevelt and Hopkins," made his initial payment to become a life member of the NAACP. Mr Sherwood was **awarded the Pulitzer Prize** in 1936 and again in 1949.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and her son, Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., also made initial payments on life memberships in the NAACP.

A paid-in-full life membership in the NAACP was taken out by Schroders Meat Products Company in Rochester, N.Y., last week.

Another well known American who contributed last week to the Association was **Jack I. Straus,** president of R.H. Macy and Company, New York department store. Mr. Straus donated **$100.00** to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign.

Two labor unions also sent in donations to the Fight for Freedom Campaign. A check for $500.00 was received from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL, in Los Angeles, and $150.00 from the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, in Chicago.

NAACP branches throughout the nation last week contributed $837.21 to the Fight for Freedom campaign. Of the total, $58.28 was donated by local churches to branches.

Contributions received from branches were as follows: Howard County, Maryland, $19.12; Saginaw, Mich., youth council, $25.00; New Britain, Conn., $100.00; Berkshire County, Mass., $6.10; Fredericksburg, Va., $200.00

Alton, Ill., $5.00; North Carolina state conference of branches, $155.00; Southeast regional conference, $245.00; Canton, Ohio, $5.00; Cedar Rapids, Ia., $18.48.

Contributions received through branches from churches were: East Chicago, Ind., $20.87; Three Rivers, Mich., $20.55; Logan county, Okla., $16.86.

CHICAGO OFFICIALS SCORED FOR LAXITY ON HOUSING PROJECT RIOTS

March 11, 1954

CHICAGO, Ill., March 11.--City officials here were charged with laxity in dealing with violence at the Trumbull Park housing project at a mass meeting on local housing conditions held March 7.

The meeting was sponsored by the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Willoughby Abner, local NAACP official, told an audience estimated at 1,500 that Mayor Kennelly and other city officials have not "paid the kind of attention to the Trumbull Park situation that it warrants."

Mr. Abner is chairman of the executive committee of the NAACP's Chicago branch. He warned that "if violence continues against Negroes in this project it can trigger violent outbreaks in other projects in other sections of the city."

Since the first Negro family moved into the federally-owned Trumbull Park housing project last July, autos have been stoned, windows in the project broken, fire bombs hurled, and policemen and citizens attacked.

Last week, Police Commissioner O'Connor asserted that the Chicago police force is adequate to handle any violent situation that may arise at Trumbull Park or other housing projects.

At the meeting, Mr. Abner scored local police for their failure to disperse and arrest participants in the ricticus anti-Negro actions at Trumbull Park.

Mr. Abner outlined the "basic problem" as "one of not enough housing in the city." This condition, he said, breeds slums, overcrowding and juvenile delinquency.

Pointing out that a primary reason for lack of housing is lack of financing, Mr. Abner called for increased private investment in residence and cooperative housing.

Although housing is needed for people of all economic levels, he continued, it is especially needed for Negroes and other minority groups, whose housing problems are aggravated by low incomes and racial discrimination.

Other speakers at tha meeting included Mrs. Donald Howard, whose family was the first Negro family to move into Trumbull Park Homes; William Hill, of the Public Housing Authority; and Congressman William L. Dawson.

Mr.. Dawson urged his audience to register and vote to place in public office officials who support policies of non-discrimination and who uphold civil rights for all the people.

Mrs. Cora M. Patton, president of the NAACP's Chicago branch, served as chairwoman for the meeting. Persons attending the meeting contributed nearly $600 to further the NAACP housing campaign and to help defray court costs in the NAACP appeal against eviction of the Howard family from Trumbull Park Homes. NAACP attorneys have charged that the Howard eviction action is based on racial grounds, and not on grounds of falsification of income, as the Chicago Housing Authority contends.

FOR RELEASE MARCH 14, AFTER 4:00 P.M.:

SAYS HOUSING RIOTS SHOW NEED FOR FREEDOM CRUSADE

JOLIET, Ill., March 14 --The sporadic neighborhood riots of the last few months against Negro families moving into a public housing project in Chicago show clearly the need for the Fight for Freedom campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it was asserted here by Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, in a speech at CIO hall, March 14.

"Anyone who sits back in a comfortable home or a fine automobile, or lulls himself to sleep reading books about how much progress has been made in race relations needs to take a look at the vicious Chicago housing events. They prove that we still need a crusade for full freedom and that if we are to rid the nation of second class citizenship we will have to conduct an all-out crusade," Mr. Wilkins declared.

He complimented the Joliet branch of the NAACP for attacking local problems of discrimination and recalled that the NAACP was organized in 1909 as a result of the terrible race riots in Springfield, Ill., Lincoln's home town.

"This Freedom campaign of the NAACP must be carried out on every local and state level to clean up the emancipation task by 1963, and Illinois citizens could do no greater honor to Abraham Lincoln than to take the lead among the states in the nation-wide effort."

FASHION SHOW RAISES FUNDS FOR NAACP'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

March 11, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y., March 11.--A benefit fashion show sponsored by the NAACP at La Vie en Rose here this week paid off with approximately $2,250 toward the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign.

Of the total, some $1,000 was collected in the form of ticket sales and another $1,250 pledged by 25 individuals attending the show who agreed to take out $500 life memberships in the Association.

Three persons made an initial payment on a life membership on-the-spot. They were Mrs. Victoria Bourne-Vanneck, New York, of News Press Service, and Mrs. Dunbar S. McLaurin. Mr. McLaurin is a New York realtor.

The fashion show, sponsored jointly by the NAACP national office and New York branch, was the scene for presentation of an exclusive spring and summer collection by the young Canadian designer, Miss Verlie Morrison.

The Fight for Freedom campaign aims to rid America of racial discrimination and segregation by January 1, 1963, the Centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: AFTER 5 P.M. SUNDAY, March 21, 1954

WALTER WHITE DENOUNCES BYRNES AS 'SMEAR ARTIST'

ATLANTA, March 21.--The attempt of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina to equate the role of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with that of the Ku Klux Klan as an instigator of racial hate was denounced here today by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, in an address prepared for delivery at the opening of the annual membership drive of the Atlanta NAACP.

Sharing the platform with Mr. White was Thurgood Marshall, the Association's special counsel, who headed the battery of lawyers who in five cases challenged before the United States Supreme Court the constitutionality of segregation in public elementary and secondary schools.

Gov. Byrnes had repeated his charge against the NAACP in a St. Patrick's Day address last week in Charleston, S.C. The NAACP and the KKK, he asserted, are an "equal menace" to peaceful relations between the races.

Denouncing this charge as a smear, Mr. White accused the Governor of "mccarthyism at its worst." Gov Byrnes, he said, "knows that the KKK had defied the law, violated the constitutional rights of individuals, sought to be judge, jury and executioner, preached racial intolerance, and debased human decency."

"The NAACP, on the other hand, has consistently operated within the framework of constitutional democracy, opposed racial discrimination and segregation which are the concrete expression of bigotry, and worked for democratic objectives."

Challenges Governor

"I challenge Gov. Byrnes to name one instance in which the NAACP has been involved in aggressive violence against any individual or group," the NAACP spokesman asserted. "I challenge him to name any instance in which the NAACP took the law into its hands. I further challenge him to cite any occasion in which the NAACP has conspired to subvert the Constitution or to deny any individual his constitutional rights.

"The Governor knows he cannot meet this challenge because he knows the record of the NAACP. If ours were a subversive organization like the KKK he would have driven us out of South Carolina long ago. But he knows that we are an American organization dedicated to the highest ideals of our nation as set forth in our historic documents from the Declaration of Independence to the Resolution against discrimination adopted at the Caracas conference last week. We are here to stay as long as racial injustice endures."

Recalls Byrnes' Record

As a "smear artist", Mr. White charged, "Gov. Byrnes antedates Senator Joseph McCarthy by many years. Indeed, he was using this tactic when the Wisconsin senator was still in swaddling clothes. He pretends now to be a 'friend' of the Negro, but we remember when he defended lynching on the floor of the Senate and the House of Representatives as he now defends segregation. We remember his fight to deny funds to Howard University for the education of Negro youth. We remember his attacks upon the the real friends of the Negro and his attempts to smear them because of their efforts against lynching and race bigotry."

Mr. White warned that politicians like Governors Byrnes and Herman Talmadge of Georgia face extinction as the Negro and enlightened white vote in the south expands. The NAACP, he said, is engaged in a southwide campaign to increase the Negro voting strength to 3,000,000 by 1956, the next presidential election. Meanwhile, there is growing evidence that more enlightened southern opinion rejects the reactionary and intemperate proposals of the South Carolina governor.

"Only last week in New York, a distinguished southern editor categorically asserted that the public schools in South Carolina will not be closed if segregation is banned despite Gov. Byrnes' threats," Mr. White observed.

IMPLEMENT ANTI-BIAS RESOLUTION OF CARACAS, WALTER WHITE URGES

March 18, 1954

NEW YORK, March 18.--Prompt implementation of the anti-racial bias resolution passed at the tenth Inter-American Conference in Caracas, Venezuela, is urged by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a letter to John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State.

The NAACP, Mr. White says in his letter dated March 17, is "highly pleased to learn of the unanimous adoption...of the resolution condemning racial discrimination and calling upon the American nations to take effective steps to end this negation of democracy."

The letter expresses the Association's anticipation of "early action by our government to eliminate racial discrimination."

"Particularly, we urge that immediate steps be taken to end color discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone. Although the Department of Defense has ordered the abolition of segregation in schools at military installations in this country, nothing has been done to end segregated education in the Canal Zone under supervision of the Department of the Army."

Also cited is the discrimination in salaries paid to U.S. civil servants in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Civil service employees from the States are paid higher salaries for the same work than resident employees. Elimination of this differential is urged by the NAACP.

Adoption of this resolution by the conference, the letter asserts, "reveals the international signficance of the racial issue and points up the urgent need for prompt action on the part of the government of the United States. Race discrimination threate our national security. We can no longer afford to let the most backward sections of our population endanger our country by persisting in discriminatory practices. We must meet the challenge of our **neighbors,** not only because discrimination is immoral, but also because it is dangerous."

FLA. CITY BANS CUBAN PLAYERS; DULLES URGED TO INTERVENE

March 18, 1954

NEW YORK, March 18.--Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was today asked to intervene in the expulsion of seven Cuban Negro baseball players from Winter Garden, Fla.

The players, members of the Washington farm team of Charlotte, N.C. were ordered by officials of the Florida city to "get out of town by sundown," according to a story published in the Washington **Post** of March 18. No charge, other than their race, was made against the Cubans.

In a telegram to the Secretary of State, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that "this officia act of bigotry not only offends our traditions of fair play, but also flouts the resolution against racial bias passed at the tenth Inter-American Conference in Caracas this week."

Also, the telegram pointed out, "it creates distrust of our country amongst other nations of the Western Hemisphere and undermines the force of the anti-Communist resolution adopted at Caracas."

The NAACP, Mr. White told Mr. Dulles, "urges the State Department to use its good offices on behalf of these ball players who are guests in our country and who being foreign are entitled to the direct intervention of our federal government, local laws and customs nothwithstanding."

Mr. White also sent a wire to Clark Griffith, president of the Washington Senators, urging him "as a rebuke to this official act of bigotry to withdraw the team immediately from a town in which such racial hatred prevails."

NAACP URGES KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS TO DROP RACIAL BAN IN CLEVELAND

March 18, 1954

NEW YORK, March 18.--The refusal of the Knights of Columbus, Roman Catholic fraternal order, to grant a charter to a council destined to become an all-Negro unit is commended in a resolution passed by the Board of Directors of the National Association of Colored People.

The resolution, presented to the board by Dr. N.K. Christopher on behalf of the Cleveland branch of the NAACP, was passed at the regular monthly meeting of the board held in Washington on March 9. The issue originated in Cleveland where local councils of the K. of C. rejected applications of Negroes for membership. To meet this situation, a proposal was advanced to establish an "inter-racial" council.

The Cleveland branch of the NAACP expressed the fear that such a council would be converted into an all-Negro unit. Instead, the branch urged the admission of qualified Negroes to the existing councils.

The text of the resolution passed by the national board follows:

> The proposal to establish in the City of Cleveland a council of the Knights of Columbus composed of an overwhelming majority of Negroes and a small minority of white persons which would quickly be converted into a racially separated unit through withdrawal of the white members and as such would establish a precedent for K.of C. councils throughout the United States..is to be deplored.
>
> Accordingly, the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People commends the stand already taken by the Supreme Knight, Luke Hart, of the Knights of Columbus in rejecting the application of this proposed council as a step towards the recognition of segregation within the Order.
>
> We respectfully call upon and urge the Vatican's Apostolic delegate, Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cigognani, Washington, D.C., to use his influence and good office in support of complete integration and membership in Knights of Columbus Councils regardless of race.
>
> In view of the fact that a number of Knights of Columbus Councils have for some time admitted and welcomed their Negro Catholic brothers, the great Catholic church could ill afford to adopt or pursue any policy that would violate this established principle of equality within the Catholic Church.

$100,000 FORFEITED BY LAS VEGAS BUSINESSMEN FOR LOCAL RACE BIAS

March 18, 1954

SANTA MONICA, Calif., March 18.--An invitation to the American Public Welfare Association to hold its forthcoming Western regional conference here, with a guarantee of "equal treatment of all delegates, regardless of race," was extended this week by the local Chamber of Commerce.

The invitation was issued after the welfare association cancelled plans to hold its meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada, in September.

Las Vegas was written off by the APWA, an organization of Negro and white social workers, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged early this month that Las Vegas is the "Mississippi of the West" because of its primitive racial attitudes.

The NAACP asserted that racial discrimination is the "general policy" of hotels, motels, restaurants and places of recreation in Las Vegas.

A letter from the NAACP to Miss Lulu Dunn, national director of the APWA, said: "We urge the APWA to move its Western region annual conference from the State of Nevada to some other western city and state where all delegates, regardless of race, color or national origin, may meet and hold sessions in an atmosphere in keeping with the letter and spirit of our American democracy."

While Las Vegas businessmen counted their loss resulting from cancellation of the convention at more than $100,000, this city offered the facilities of its largest beach-front hotel to all delegates on a non-discriminatory basis.

Nevada has no civil rights law governing practices in places of public accommodation. A bill was introduced in the Assembly last year, but was tabled after being favorably reported out of committee. A civil rights ordinance, patterned after the law in California, is pending action in the Las Vegas City Council.

UNION CONVENTION ASKS END TO SCHOOL SEGREGATION AS "IMMORAL"

March 18, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y.,March 18.--Immediate abolition of segregated public schools was called for here by delegates to a national civil rights conference sponsored by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

A resolution on racial discrimination, passed unanimously by the more than 250 delegates, specified that school segregation should be forthwith abolished "whether such segregation be due to legal enactments or practice and tradition."

"Segregated schools are basically immoral and in violation of Jewish and Christian teachings of human brotherhood," the statement declared.

The resolution also pledged continued support from the IUE-CIO to the NAACP "financially and otherwise, to carry on its fine work in breaking down artificial barriers because of race and color."

The statement was adopted following an address by Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant. Mr. Hill called upon IUE locals throughout the nation to become actively engaged on a daily basis in the fight for civil rights.

"Trade unions must become active participants with the NAACP in the daily struggle against the vicious evils of racial segregation and discrimination," Mr. Hill maintained. "This is in the best interest of the American labor movement."

TALLULAH BANKHEAD PLEDGES LIFE SUPPORT TO NAACP

March 18, 1954

NEW YORK, March 18.--Miss Tallulah Bankhead, internationally known actress, has made an initial payment on a life membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Miss Bankhead hails originally from Alabama.

Five other Americans made initial payments on life memberships in the NAACP last week. They are Irving Mariash, New York, an attorney; Miss Rose Morgan, St. Albans, N.Y.; Mrs. Inez Gumbs, New York; Mrs. Ruby Johnson, New York; and Mrs. Ruth Ellington James, New York, a staff member of the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign.

A paid-in-full life membership in the Association was taken out for A. Maceo Smith of Dallas, Tex., by members of his fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha. Mr. Smith is a member of the Association's board of directors.

A group of ministers in Kansas last week contributed $23.93 to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign. The amount was received from the Manhattan Ministerial Association in Manhattan, Kansas.

Mrs. Muriel Eileen Holtzman of New York City donated $75.00 to the Fight for Freedom campaign, and the Omega/Omega chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority in Philadelphia paid $42.00 on a $100.00 pledge to the campaign.

Two labor unions, one AFL and one CIO, last week donated funds to the Fight for Freedom campaign. The United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, in Chicago, sent $300.00, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, AFL, in Cincinnati, forwarded $500.00.

Nineteen NAACP branches last week contributed a total of $1,477.77 to the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign. Of the total, $167.17 was donated by local churches to branches.

The branches and amounts they donated were: Camden, N.J., $300.00; White Plains, N.Y., $290.45; Mobile, Ala., $101.00; Greenwich, Conn., $100.00; Jacksonville, Ill., $100.00; Hannibal, Mo., $100.00.

Also: Logan, W. Va., $75.00; Johnstown, Pa., $56.00; Bluefield, W. Va., $50.00; Newark, Del., $40.00; Lima, O., youth council, $28.15; Cumberland, Md., $25.00; Galesburg, Ill., $25.00; Plainfield, N.J., $10.00; Spottsylvania, Va., $10.00.

Contributions received through branches from churches were: Paducah, Ky., $100.00; Maywood, Ill., $40.20; Enid, Okla., $16.97; and Cumberland County, N.J., $10.00.

NAACP BACKS N.Y. HOUSING COMMISSIONER FIGHTING "GHETTOES" IN PUBLIC HOUSING

March 18, 1954

NEW YORK, March 18.--Alleged attempts by the City Administration here to create public housing ghettoes based on race were denounced today by the NAACP in wires sent to the mayor, comptroller, and the five borough presidents.

At the same time, the Association warmly congratulated State Housing Commissioner

Herman Stichman for his stand against race bias in public housing and for "exposing the subtle attempts to introduce racial intolerance here, in the world's most cosmopolitan city."

Identical telegrams sent to city officials by the NAACP asserted that "presistent reports indicate that the public housing program in this city is being curtailed by pressure of prejudiced residents who want to keep certain minority group families out of particular neighborhoods."

"This un-American and anti-democratic attitude deserves no consideration by the officials of the City of New York," the message continued. "Slum clearance and the relocation of families compelled to live in such conditions are a responsibility of the entire city as they are also a benefit to the city."

Earlier in the week, Housing Commissioner Stichman had issued a statement declaring that "the present City Administration seems inclined to follow a course of confining low income public housing projects only to certain areas, thus creating ghettoes based on color and income."

"If this is to become new local policy," Mr. Stichman asserted, "it will appear that some want people of this city to live half slave and half free."

Mr. Stichman's statement resulted from failure of the New York City Board of Estimate on March 11 to approve two out of three applications of the New York City Housing Authority for state-aided low rent public housing projects.

At that time, the Board of Estimate approved plans for one project, to be built on a site in Manhattan now largely occupied by Negro families. The Board turned down plans for two projects to be constructed on sites in Brooklyn and the Bronx which now have few or no Negro families.

In his statement Mr. Stichman called attention to the fact that the Board of Estimate has turned down plans for three other state-aided housing developments for families of low income since the first of the year. He described the fate of these three projects, in Manhattan and the Bronx, as "withdrawn from consideration or quietly shelved by the city since January 1, 1954."

CURRENT ON TOUR

March 18, 1954

NEW YORK, March 18.--Gloster B. Current, director of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, left New York today on a tour of branches in Illinois, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska.

He will conduct a special election of officers of the Freeport, Ill., branch as directed by the NAACP Board of Directors. He will address branch meetings in Kansas City, Mo., and Kans. In addition, Mr. Current is scheduled to conduct a workshop on NAACP program and policy in St. Joseph, Mo., and to meet with branch officers in Omaha in preparation for the Regional Leadership Training Conference to be held in that city, April 23-25.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

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FOR RELEASE: March 25, 1954

SENATE ASKED TO BAN HOUSING SEGREGATION

March 25, 1954

WASHINGTON, March 25.--A recommendation to ban racial discrimination in all government-aided housing has been placed before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, which this week held hearings on housing legislation.

The anti-bias proposal was made by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who testified before the committee on March 24.

Despite the conviction that "the housing agencies now have full authority to issue regulations which will prevent segregation in housing that is financed in whole or part by federal funds," Mr. Mitchell told the committee that legislation is needed because "the federal agencies have never had the courage to exercise this authority."

The NAACP spokesman cited instances of racial discrimination in federally-aided developments in Savannah, Baltimore and in Metropolitan Washington. "However," he charged, "the most colossal of FHA discriminatory policies may be found at Levittown, Pa., where thousands of new dwellings are built in an entirely new community with FHA assistance. Mr. Levitt refuses to let any colored person buy or rent one of these houses."

Accordingly, Mr. Mitchell urged the committee to amend the National Housing Act to include the following clause: "The aids and powers made available under the several titles of this Act are not to be conditioned or limited in any way on account of race, religion or national origin of builders, lenders, renters, buyers, or families to be benefitted."

The NAACP representative recalled that repeated efforts had been made to get the housing officials to exercise their authority to require that all federally-aided housing be made available to qualified applicants without regard to race. Neither Albert Cole, nor his predecessor, Raymond Foley, ever took any effective action to prohibit racial discrimination, Mr. Mitchell asserted.

President Eisenhower's reference to minority group problems in his housing message to Congress on January 25 was "intended to reaffirm his important principle that federal funds should not be used to promote and expand racial segregation and discrimination," Mr. Mitchell told the committee.

Despite the President's well known position, the NAACP executive asserted, "Mr. Cole and his subordinates continue to approve housing policies which permit patterns that would not in any sense embarrass the Malan government of South Africa, which is openly dedicated to a program of complete racial segregation."

USO ASKED TO PUT ITS NO-SEGREGATION POLICY INTO PRACTICE IN THE SOUTH

March 25, 1954

NEW YORK, March 25.--The NAACP has called on the USO to implement its integration policy adopted in 1951 but never applied consistently on a national level.

In a meeting with two USO national officials last week, Dr. Channing H. Tobias and Gloster B. Current, both of the NAACP, urged that racial segregation in USO clubs and other facilities throughout the South be ended immediately.

Dr. Tobias is chairman of the Association's board of directors, and Mr. Current is director of branches for the NAACP.

The meeting between officials of the two organizations was held as a result of complaints received by the NAACP from its branches in the South. The complaints pointed out that the USO has not put into practice in some areas its announced policy of integration.

The USO officers at the meeting were M.O. Schram, president, and Edwin E. Bond, executive director.

The statement presented by Mr. Current noted that "many of the constituent agencies of USO not only have religious purposes, but have either declared themselves squarely opposed to segregation or are presently reviewing their practices in this regard."

"In the consideration of any new program there are always obstacles to be overcome. We in the NAACP have seen through past experience that the best approach to any change in a policy of injustice is not to allow expediency to stand in the way of right. The best way to effect change is to change."

MARY MARGARET MCBRIDE TO QUIZ WALTER WHITE

March 25, 1954

NEW YORK, March 25.--Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will be interviewed by Mary Margaret McBride on her radio program on Saturday, April 3. Miss McBride will question the NAACP leader about his article, "How Washington's Color Line Looks to Me", in the Saturday Evening Post of April 3. The program will be heard over the ABC network, 1 to 2 p.m. E.S.T.

NAACP BRANCHES IN 16 CITIES IN ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DRIVES

March 25, 1954

DALLAS, March 25.--An intensive NAACP membership campaign has opened here, with a goal of 5,000 members in the local branch of the Association before the NAACP annual convention gets under way in Dallas in June.

Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, a special field secretary for the NAACP, is directing the campaign. Serving as co-chairmen are the Rev. C. A. W. Clark, the Rev. I. B. Loud, and Carl Brannin.

The NAACP will hold its forty-fifth annual convention here June 29 to July 4.

Fifteen other local branch membership campaigns of the NAACP are scheduled to open early next month, it was announced this week by Miss Lucille Black, membership secretary for the Association. Goals of 5,000 members have been set by branches in Memphis, Tenn., and St. Louis, Mo. Bernard Brown, national field secretary for the NAACP, will direct the campaign in St. Louis.

NAACP branches in Kansas City, Kans., and San Antonio, Tex., have set goals of 1,500 new members.

The following branches of the Association have set goals of 1,000 members: Des Moines, Ia., Tuskegee, Ala., Pine Bluff, Ark., Hartford, Conn., St. Landry Parish, La., Springfield, Mass.

Also: Minneapolis, Minn., St. Paul, Minn., Atlantic City, N.J., Elizabeth, N.J., and Harrisburg, Pa.

AMERICANS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE AID NAACP'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

March 25, 1954

NEW YORK, March 25.--A human relations organization, a church, a half-dozen labor unions and individuals, and seven local NAACP branches last week contributed $556.92 to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign.

The South Shore Human Relations Workshop in Merrick, N.Y., sent $25.00 to the campaign, and Calvary Baptist Church in Jamaica, N.Y., $50.00.

Two CIO unions and one AFL union donated a total of $175.00. The Oil Workers' International Union, CIO, Denver, Colo., sent $50.00; the United Rubber, Cork and and Linoleum Workers of America, CIO, Akron, Ohio, $100.00; and a Cincinnati local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL, $25.00.

The three individuals who contributed to the campaign last week were Leon Jordan, Monrovia, Liberia, $25.00; Miss Mary S. McDowell, Brooklyn, N.Y., $5.00; and D.G. Johnson, La Marque, Texas, $1.50.

NAACP branch contributions to the campaign were: St. Paul, Minn., $100.00; Newark, N.J., $10.00; Harleyvills, S.C., $8.00; Waterbury, Conn., $72.00; Boston, Mass., $33.85; Willow Grove, Pa., $29.02; and Erie, Pa., $22.55. Of the total of

$275.42 donated by branches, $157.42 was contributed by churches to branches.

A paid-in-full life membership of $500.00 in the NAACP was taken out last week by Mansion C. Hall of Bakersfield, Calif. In addition, initial payments on NAACP life memberships were made by A.G. Gaston of Birmingham, Ala., and the Northern New Jersey chapter of Links, Inc., a national women's organization.

A special gift of 1,000 pencils was received by the Association last week from Meyer Jacoby of New York City. Each pencil is inscribed as follows: "For peace of mind and worldly peace, let us practice giving and forgiving. Compliments to the NAACP."

The Association's Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to rid America of race discrimination and segregation by Jan. 1, 1963, the Centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

"M-DAY" OBSERVANCES IN VIRGINIA TO HONOR THURGOOD MARSHALL OF NAACP

March 25, 1954

RICHMOND, Va., March 25.--A week-long series of NAACP civil rights observances throughout this state will be climaxed by a mass meeting here on April 4 featuring Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel and world famous civil rights lawyer.

Sunday, April 4 has been proclaimed "NAACP Sunday" here by Mayor Edward E. Haddock, and also has been designated the opening date of the NAACP local branch's 1954 membership campaign. During the membership drive the branch will seek 4,000 new members.

In proclaiming April 4 NAACP Sunday, Mayor Haddock stated: "...I have been asked to suggest to the churches and other institutions of the city to bring to the attention of our people the civic and religious awareness of human rights. Sunday, April 4, has been set aside by the NAACP for dedication to prayer and consecration for their work in human rights, and as Mayor of the City of Richmond, I urge its observance."

During the preceding week, Mr. Marshall will speak at special "M-Day" observances honoring him in Arlington County, Charlottesville, Lynchburg, Petersburg, Amelia and Newport News. NAACP Sunday here also will be known as "M-Day."

NAACP branches throughout the state have adopted as their slogan for 1954, "Join the NAACP and help blot out Jim Crow."

Following Mr. Marshall's tour of the state, Edward R. Dudley of the NAACP will speak in six cities, April 19 to 25. Mr. Dudley, director of the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign, will visit Covington, Danville, Greensville County, Portsmouth, Norfolk, Manassas, Prince William County, and Petersburg.

For Release after Publication, March 31, 1954:

RACE PRACTICES IN NATION'S CAPITAL EXHIBIT "LUDICROUS CONTRADICTIONS"

NEW YORK, March 25.--The nation's capital has made admirable progress in ridding itself of race prejudice and discrimination within the past decade, but it still is the scene of "many ludicrous contradictions" in race practices, a civil rights expert writes this week in a national publication.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, observes that in spite of more democratic race practices now exercised by Washington restaurants, threatres, hotels, and some public recreation facilities in serving citizens of both races, "it would be a mistake ... to believe that Washington has become overnight a city free of race prejudice."

Mr. White's article, "How Washington's Color Line Looks to Me," appears in the April 3 issue of The Saturday Evening Post.

Areas cited by Mr. White where race discrimination and segregation still mantain an ironclad control in Washington are housing, public schools, employment, hospitals, and the Protestant churches. In addition, although police brutality against the Negro "has materially lessened in recent years," says Mr. White, "it is still a serious problem."

STATE LAW ON "MIGRATORY" CHILDREN IGNORED IN PENNSYLVANIA--NAACP

March 25, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y., March 25.--A Pennsylvania state law which specifies that "migratory" children must attend regular school sessions before being employed in commercial agricultural occupations is being "universally violated," an official of the NAACP charged last week.

In fact, the law "has never been enforced," a letter sent to Pennsylvania's Governor Fine by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, asserted.

The statute, the Migratory Child Labor Act, has been on the books since 1931. Mr. White's letter was sent to Governor Fine after several investigations by Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant, revealed that the law is being totally ignored by Pennsylvania officials.

The Migratory Child Labor Act requires that a child under 16 years of age who is not a resident of the state may not be employed for commercial agricultural occupations unless he can present a School Requirement Certificate from his state of residence showing that he attended school during the school period.

In his letter to Governor Fine, Mr. White asserted: "I believe that Pennsylvania officials must not be permitted to evade their clear responsibility for enforcing this law."

NAACP HAS CHARTERED 31 NEW UNITS SINCE JAN. 1,1954

March 25, 1954

NEW YORK, N.Y., March 25.--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has chartered 31 new units in all parts of the United States since January 1, it was announced today by Gloster Current, NAACP director of branches.

Mr. Current said the new units are as follows: 15 branches, 10 youth councils, three college chapters and three authorized committees.

This brings to a total of 1,281 the number of NAACP units throughout the nation, Mr. Current noted.

He explained that an "authorized committee" is a group of NAACP members numbering more than seven, which is numerically too small to be chartered as an NAACP branch. A branch charter requires a minimum of 50 members.

The new college chapters are at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.; Bluefield State College, Bluefield, W. Va.; and Claflin College, Orangeburg, S.C.

The three authorized committees are in Aqua Fria, Arizona; South Shore, N.Y.; and Sullivan County, N.Y.

New youth councils have been chartered in Mamaroneck and Central Long Island, N.Y.; Bowling Green, Ky.; Saluda, S.C.; Merrimac Valley, Mass.; Vance County, N.C.; Palo Alto, Calif.; Liberty County, Ga.; Little Rock, Ark.; and Charleston, W. Va.

The 15 new branches are in Uniontown, Pa.; Blythewood, S.C.; Belzoni, Miss.; **Bearden** and Augusta, Ark.; Redwood City and San Pedro-Wilmington, Calif.; Carbondale and Madison, Illinois.

Also: Marion, Ind.; Pointe Coupee Parish, La.; Lower Halifax County, Gates County and Sheffield Township, N.C.; and Norfolk County, Va.

CURRENT NAACP PROGRAMS WILL BE STUDIED AT CONFERENCE NEXT MONTH

March 25, 1954

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 25.--Three civil rights leaders, a school administrator, and the mayor will speak at the opening session of a regional training conference for NAACP officials from seven states here next month.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, will deliver the keynote address on April 2. At the same session delegates will hear from the Hon. Andrew Broaddus, mayor of Louisville; George T. Cordery, president of the NAACP's Louisville branch; Charles T. Steele, secretary of the Louisville Urban League; and Mrs. Maude Brown Porter, assistant principal of Central High School here.

During the three-day conference staff members from the Association's national office in New York City will conduct workshops on current NAACP programs in political action, housing, membership, fund-raising and civil rights through legal redress. These workshops are designed to familiarize local NAACP leaders with the scope and techniques of the Association's work for 1954.

At a Fight for Freedom banquet on April 3 delegates will hear progress reports on Fight for Freedom campaigns conducted by NAACP branches, and a discussion of fund-raising techniques by Edward R. Dudley, national director of the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign.

The Freedom campaign aims to achieve full equality for America's 15,000,000 Negro citizens by Jan. 1, 1963, the Centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, and Lt. Governor Emerson Beauchamp will address the conference's closing session at a mass meeting on April 4.

The conference, first of three regional training sessions to be held by the Association during April, will be host to officials from NAACP branches, youth council and college chapters. They will come from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

The second training conference will be held April 9 and 10 in New York City, and the third, April 23 to 25 in Omaha, Neb.

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NEWS FROM
NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: April 8, 1954

NAACP URGES BBC TO DROP "AMOS 'N' ANDY" TV SHOW

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--The British Broadcasting Corporation has been "earnestly and vigorously" urged to reconsider its purchase of the "Amos 'n' Andy" program for telecast to the people of England. The corporation is scheduled to start showing the film on April 21.

In a letter to the BBC dated April 7, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, branded the program "a gross caricature of the Negro which has done much harm here in the United States and, we fear, may do even more in England where there is not as much opportunity as in the United States for non-Negroes to know the truth about the Negro."

Anti-Negro forces in the United States, the NAACP executive pointed out, seek to perpetuate "the concept that the Negro is a happy-go-lucky, amoral, uneducable and ambitionless person addicted to the use of dialect and outlandish behavior." The "Amos 'n' Andy" show, Mr. White charged, contributes to the perpetuation of this myth.

"We are quite certain," he continued, "that the BBC would not wish to be a party to the spreading of false concepts, however amusing they may be."

Moreover, the NAACP spokesman asserted, the showing of this film is "particularly unfortunate and dangerous at this crucial period of world history. The darker skinned peoples of the world who constitute two-thirds of the world's population are, as you know, increasingly resentful of the white world's condescension towards brown, yellow and black peoples."

The "Amos 'n' Andy" show, he said, "will merely add to this resentment."

The NAACP has consistently opposed this show. At its 42nd annual convention in Atlanta, in June, 1951, a resolution was passed condemning the then new "Amos 'n' Andy" television show as a "derogatory and sterotyped" characterization which tends "to strengthen the conclusion among uninformed or prejudiced persons that Negroes ... are inferior, lazy, dumb and dishonest." A nationwide campaign was launched in an effort to have the show withdrawn.

LAST CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR ANNUAL SPINGARN AWARD

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--All nominations for the Spingarn Medal must be in the office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y., by May 1, Walter White, executive secretary, announced today.

The medal is awarded annually to a Negro American for distinguished achievement in such fields as the arts, science, business, education or statesmanship. Selection of the medalist is made by a committee composed of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Dr. Buell Gallagher, Roscoe Dunjee, Rabbi Judah Cahn, Mrs. Helen Reid, and Chester Bowles.

TOBIAS TO SOUND KEYNOTE AT NAACP ANNUAL MEETING

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has declined an invitation to attend an international YMCA conference in Germany this summer in order to attend the NAACP's 45th annual convention in Dallas, June 29 to July 4.

Dr. Tobias will again deliver the keynote address at the opening meeting of the convention on Tuesday night June 29. Among others scheduled to address the convention are Walter White, executive secretary, and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel.

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM DRIVE AIDED BY CONTRIBUTIONS

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--More than $2,500 was raised for the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign at a Freedom rally in Oakland, Calif., on March 28, according to reports received here from Franklin H. Williams, secretary-counsel of the Association's West Coast office in San Francisco.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to rid America of race discrimination and segregation by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

During the past week contributions to the campaign from a variety of other sources totalled $1,790.41, it was announced here by Edward R. Dudley, campaign director. He said donations received at a mass meeting in Louisville, Ky., on April 4, were responsible for $459.33 of the total. The meeting was held during a regional NAACP conference.

Other branches of the Association, in various sections of the nation, last week sent a total of $904.08 to the Fight for Freedom headquarters here. In addition, labor unions, a church, a fraternity, and several individuals contributed to the campaign.

Two locals of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, forwarded a total of $65.00 to the NAACP. Local 1101 in Arabi, La., sent $50.00, and Local 133 in Harrison, N.J., $15.00.

Ten dollars was received from the Beta Pi Lambda chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity in Albany, N.Y., $7.00 from Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church in Lake Wales, Fla., and $50.00 from the King Solomon Grand Lodge of New York, Inc.

Individuals contributing to the fund included Earl C. Gassenheimer, New York City, $75; Charles H. Hanson, Jr., of the United States Consulate in Zurich, Switzerland, $30; Mrs. Ethel S. Epstein, Mrs. Sidney Blumenthal and Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont, all of New York City, $25 each; Thomas Kasey, Salem, Va., and Mrs. L. Meadows Smith, Jasper, Ala., $5 each.

Also the following persons, all of Roanoke, Va.: O.H. Arnold, $5.00; Roosevelt Rayford, $7.00; R.C. Burrill, $3.00; Dr. H.T. Penn, $5.00; Dr. John H. Cundiff, $5.00; M.J. Harris, $10.00; W.D. Allen, $5.00; J.B. Huffman, $5.00; Edgar M. Baker, $25.00; Joseph Fuller, $35.00.

The amounts received from local branches of the NAACP were: Alabama State Conference of Branches, $360.48; Portland and Middletown, Conn., $300.00; Tuskegee, Ala., $100.00; Chickash, Okla., $60.00; Kenosha, Wis., $50.00; Pontiac, Mich., $10.00; Arkansas City, Kans., $15.00; and West Point, Va., $8.60.

Funds sent by the Arkansas City, Kans., and West Point, Va., branches were raised by local churches.

NAACP MOURNS PASSING OF WILLIAM PICKENS

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--Plans for a memorial service for William Pickens await the return of his widow, Mrs. Minnie Pickens, Saturday, April 10, aboard the S.S. Mauretania. The former NAACP official died at sea aboard that ship on April 6 off Kingston, Jamaica. He was buried at sea. Death struck as he was returning from a Caribbean cruise accompanied by Mrs. Pickens.

Informed of the death of his former associate, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that "American democracy has lost a valued fighter in the death of Dean Pickens."

Dean Pickens was field secretary and director of branches of the NAACP from 1920 through 1942 when the United States Treasury Department sought his aid in the promotion of the sale of war bonds.

In paying tribute to Dean Pickens, Mr. White called him "a brilliant scholar and one of the most skillful orators America has produced. The fight for democracy, to which he contributed so greatly, is the loser by his passing."

Born in South Carolina, January 15, 1881, Mr. Pickens was educated at Talladega College and Yale University where he won the coveted Phi Beta Kappa key. He taught at Talladega and later served as dean at Morgan College in Baltimore. He was author of "The Heir of Slaves", an autobiography, and other works. In addition to Mrs. Pickens, he is survived by a son, William, Jr., two daughters, Miss Harriet Pickens and Mrs. Ruby Holbrook, and two grandchildren.

ALERT JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ON LAS VEGAS JIM CROW HOUSING

April 8, 1954

LAS VEGAS, Nev., April 8.--A controversy over race discrimination in public housing here is being given "careful attention" by the U.S. Justice Department, it has been reported by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP unit here said a communication from the Justice Department had been received by the Association's West Coast office in San Francisco, which serves as headquarters for local units in the Western area.

The Las Vegas NAACP has charged that Negro families are excluded from two public housing projects here, and are segregated on a quota basis in still another project -- where they occupy only units facing the Negro section of town.

The Justice Department was alerted to the situation when members of the City Planning Commission allegedly urged a group of white residents in a newly-constructed public housing project in North Las Vegas to organize to keep Negro families from moving in. The new project was constructed to make housing available to military and defense personnel employed and stationed at nearby Nellis Air Base.

PUSH REGISTRATION FOR ALABAMA MAY PRIMARIES

April 8, 1954

BIRMINGHAM, April 8.--Winding up a three-month drive, the Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches anticipates a vastly increased Negro registration for the May primary election. Registration deadline for the primary is April 19.

W.C. Patton, president of the Alabama NAACP, who has been working fulltime on the registration drive since Jan. 13, reports that despite discrimination hundreds of Negroes are presenting themselves for registration. Long lines form almost every day the board of registrars is in session in Birmingham, he says. Legal action may be taken against registration officials in one county.

"In Talladega County," Mr. Patton notes, "our voting strength has increased more than 100 per cent. Before the campaigning started we had about 750 voters in that county. Today we have more than 1,500."

As an indication of the increasing importance of the Negro vote in the state, Mr. Patton cited the designation of Sunday, March 28, as "NAACP Sunday" by the Mayor of Roanoke.

A political conference, attended by leaders from 40 counties, and addressed by Judge Hubert T. Delany of New York City, met on March 27-28 to develop a ten-point questionnaire to be submitted to candidates in the May primary.

The questionnaire covers such issues as re-apportionment, education, sales tax, employment opportunities in local and state governments, use of state parks, increase in old age pensions, and liberalization of registration requirements.

EX-PRESIDENT TRUMAN CONGRATULATES WALTER WHITE FOR MAGAZINE ARTICLE

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--Former President Harry S. Truman has told Walter White of the NAACP that he read a current article by Mr. White describing racial discrimination in the nation's capital "with a lot of interest" and hopes "we will eventually come to the point where we can call the provisions of the Constitution and the laws" into operation in Washington, D.C.

The article, "How Washington's Color Line Looks to Me," appeared in the April 3 issue of The Saturday Evening Post magazine.

"As you know," Mr. Truman pointed out to Mr. White, "I am acquainted with the matters to which you refer."

Mr. Truman's remarks were contained in a letter to Mr. White, who is executive secretary of the NAACP.

"How Washington's Color Line Looks to Me" portrayed the nation's capital as the scene of "ludicrous contradictions" in racial practices, with race bars lifted in restaurants, theatres and hotels, but maintained in housing, public schools, employment, hospitals and the Protestant churches.

Mrs. Eugene Meyer, a civic leader and wife of the publisher of the Washington Post, predicted that the article will "have a good effect in Washington."

"I think it is balanced and very hopeful," Mrs. Meyer said in a letter to Mr. White.

Several Washington churchmen wrote to Mr. White about "How Washington's Color Line Looks to Me." Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, presiding bishop of the Washington area of the Methodist Church, declared: "I hang my head in shame when I read the section regarding the Protestant churches."

"I have been working at this matter quietly, and I hope there may be distinct improvement as far as the Methodist situation is concerned in the not too distant future," he added.

The Rev. A. Powell Davies, pastor of All Souls' Unitarian Church in Washington, asserted that "the national capital belongs to the entire nation and represents, not only its own residents, but all the American people."

"Your article in the Saturday Evening Post," he continued, "will therefore be of immense value in informing the country of matters which for too long have been overlooked and neglected."

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, a 90-year old Washington resident who has been a lifelong fighter for Negro rights, wrote Mr. White that "It seems impossible that anybody who has not actually lived in Washington for a long time could itemize as perfectly as you have done all the disabilities and injustices of various kinds of which colored people there are the helpless victims." Mrs. Terrell was the principal complainant in a court case which broke restaurant race discrimination in Washington.

A letter received by Mr. White from Senator Wayne Morse (Ind-Ore.) said, "As a member of the District of Columbia Committee, I intend to make good use of the article."

Other persons who sent letters to Mr. White commending him for the article included Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, publisher of the New York Herald Tribune; the Hon. William H. Hastie, judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia; Senator Herbert H. Lehman (D.-N.Y.); Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the United Nations' Department of Trusteeship; and Elmo Roper, director of a marketing research firm of the same name in New York City.

WILKINS LAUDS MARYLAND GOVERNOR FOR EFFORT TO END HOTEL JIM CROW

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--Roy Wilkins, administrator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, today commended Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland for effort to get Baltimore restaurants and hotels to abandon their present policy of refusing service to Negroes.

In view of the opening baseball season this month and Baltimore's return to the major leagues, Gov. McKeldin urged the hotels to drop the color bar against members of the visiting teams. His plea was rejected by the hotel men and restauranteurs.

Baltimore, Mr. Wilkins told the Governor, "is the only city in either major baseball league where Negro players will not be accommodated with their teammates in hotels. We trust that your leadership will result before long in the correction of the hotelmen's association to the end that Maryland may take another step toward making a reality of its proud slogan of Free State."

The NAACP administrator also wrote to Will Harridge, president of the American League to which Baltimore now belongs, urging him to recommend to the member teams that they insist upon having all their players, regardless of race, quartered together in Baltimore as is now done everywhere else on the circuit.

CHURCH-RELATED COLLEGE ASKED TO ADOPT NEW ADMISSION POLICY

April 8, 1954

HANOVER, Ind. April 8.--The Board of Trustees of lily-white Hanover College here has been challenged to end the present ban against Negro students and establish admission policies consistent with their professed Christian beliefs.

Hanover is a church-related college, affiliated with the Presbyterian Church.

Addressing a joint student-faculty assembly here recently, Herbert L. Wright of the NAACP pointed out that Hanover College is far behind many other church-related colleges, universities and high schools in the South, which already have voluntarily opened their doors to all academically-qualified applicants.

He asked the Board of Trustees to rescind its bar against Negro students.

Mr. Wright is youth director for the NAACP.

NAACP TO ACCELERATE YOUTH RECRUITMENT

April 8, 1954

NEW YORK, April 8.--The NAACP youth and college division today called upon all all youth councils, college chapters and adult units of the Association to accelerate their efforts in recruiting new youth members into the NAACP.

Herbert L. Wright, youth director for the Association, noted that a total of 806 new youth members were recruited during March. He said East St. Louis, Ill., led the youth councils in recruitment with 82 new members, followed by Stockton, Calif., with 56, and Chattanooga, Tenn., with 46.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

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Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: April 15, 1954

PRESIDENT URGED TO CONSIDER NEGROES FOR FEDERAL BENCH

April 15, 1954

NEW YORK, April 15.--President Dwight D. Eisenhower has been urged to give "careful and sympathetic consideration" to qualified Negroes in making future appointments to the federal courts.

Acting on instructions of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman, and Walter White, executive secretary, wrote to the President on April 13 expressing the NAACP's "keen regret that none of several eminently qualified Negro attorneys were included in the nominations announced on April 7 to fill vacancies on the federal bench."

The letter, addressed jointly to the President and Attorney General Herbert Brownell, reiterated the NAACP policy against "asking for political or other appointments for individuals." Nevertheless, the Association spokesmen told President Eisenhower and the Attorney General, the NAACP has consistently maintained that race should not be "a deterrent to the nomination of qualified persons to important posts."

The failure to include a single Negro appointee, the letter said, was "particularly noticeable and regrettable in view of the precedents established by Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman in the appointment of qualified Negroes to the federal bench, such as Judge William H. Hastie to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Irvin Mollison of the U.S. Customs Court, and Judge Herman E. Moore as District Judge for the Virgin Islands."

Copies of the letter were sent also to Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee and to Republican governors.

DALLAS AND CINCINNATI SCORE IN NAACP MEMBERSHIP DRIVES

April 15, 1954

NEW YORK, April 15.--At the close of intensive NAACP membership campaigns, Dallas and Cincinnati now have two of the largest NAACP branches in the United States, with nearly 4,000 members each. This was reported here today by Gloster B. Current, director of branches for the NAACP.

He said Miss Pearl Mitchell, special field secretary for the Association, served as director of the Dallas campaign, which opened several weeks ago. Dallas will be host city for the forty-fifth annual convention of the NAACP, June 29 to July 4.

Mr. Current noted that the Cincinnati membership campaign, under the direction of NAACP Regional Secretary Donald Jones, utilized new techniques to achieve its new members. These techniques included a three-day door-to-door campaign and all-day entertainment features at the Taft Auditorium in Cincinnati.

Other major NAACP membership campaigns, Mr. Current said, are being launched in Detroit, Jersey City, Newark, Brooklyn, New York City, Boston, Kansas City, Mo., Louisville, and Rochester, N.Y. NAACP Assistant Field Secretaries Mildred L. Bond, Bernard Brown and Gertrude Gorman are conducting the drives in Detroit, Kansas City and Louisville, respectively.

NAACP LEADERS FROM 7 STATES TO CHART PLANS IN OMAHA THIS MONTH

April 15, 1954

OMAHA, Neb., April 15.--Current and projected work of the NAACP in civil rights, housing, political action and fund raising will be examined at an NAACP regional conference here April 23 to 25.

The conference will be attended by NAACP local leaders from five states.

Taking part in the sessions will be the Governor of Nebraska, the Mayor of Omaha, the chairman of the local council of churches, NAACP officials, and others.

A highlight of the three-day meeting will be a Fight for Freedom banquet on April 24, to be addressed by Carl R. Johnson, member of the NAACP board of directors and president of the Association's Kansas City, Mo., branch.

The NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign, adopted by the Association at its annual convention last year, aims to step up the organization's civil rights work during the next decade to achieve full equality for America's 15,000,000 Negro citizens by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

At the opening session of the conference, welcoming remarks will be extended to the delegates by Glenn Cunningham, Mayor of Omaha; the Rev. E. T. Streeter, president of the local branch of the NAACP; E.M. Mossman, chairman of the Omaha Council of Churches; and Father John Markoe, professor at Creighton University.

The Hon. Robert Crosby, Governor of Nebraska, will address the delegation at the closing session.

Other speakers include Roy Wilkins, administrator; Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Bernard Brown, assistant field secretary; and Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel, all of the NAACP.

The meeting, third in a series of NAACP regional conferences being conducted this month in various sections of the U.S., will be attended by delegates from Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Montana, South Dakota and Wyoming.

CIO LOCALS CONTINUE SUPPORT OF NAACP'S CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE

April 15, 1954

NEW YORK, April 15.--Three locals of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, last week contributed a total of $100.00 to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to eliminate all race discrimination and segregation in the U.S. by Jan. 1, 1963, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The UPW locals who gave their financial support to this campaign last week were Locals 25 and 56 in Chicago, which contributed $25.00 and $50.00, respectively, and Local 31 in Fort Dodge, Iowa, $25.00.

In addition, the Homestead, Fla., branch of the NAACP forwarded $66.66 to the Association's national office to speed the work of emancipation on the national level.

BRITISH TELECAST OF "AMOS 'N' ANDY" WOULD HARM WORLD PEACE, SAYS ALLEN

April 15, 1954

NEW YORK, April 15.--A New York City teacher and human relations consultant has added his voice to those who have backed up the NAACP in its protest against purchase of the "Amos 'n' Andy" program by the British Broadcasting Corporation for telecast in England.

James Egert Allen declared in a letter to the BBC in London this week that "such a televised broadcast is detrimental to world peace and understanding."

"Nothing could be more damaging to English broadcasting than to select the "Amos 'n' Andy" type of program as a portrayal of Negro life in America," he pointed out.

Mr. Allen is a former president of the New York City branch and New York state conference of branches of the NAACP.

Last week Walter White, executive secretary of the Association, made public a letter in which he told the BBC that the "Amos 'n' Andy" show is "a gross caricature of the Negro which has done much harm here in the United States, and, we fear, may do even more in England where there is not as much opportunity as in the United States for non-Negroes to know the truth about Negroes."

WALTER WHITE ON TEXAS TOUR

April 15, 1954

NEW YORK, April 15.--In a weekend tour, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will speak on the Fight for Freedom at mass meetings in three Texas cities. He will address the Fort Worth-Tarrant County NAACP branch on April 23. The following day he will speak in Corpus Christi. And on April 25 he will be heard in Houston.

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Southern Regional Council

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET **NEW YORK 18, N. Y.** **LONGACRE 3-6890**

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: April 22, 1954

MITCHELL URGES BAN ON JIM CROW IN HOSPITALS

April 22, 1954

WASHINGTON, April 22.--Testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Health, Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urged the inclusion of clauses prohibiting discrimination against Negro professional men and women and patients in the Health Act providing federal funds for the development of hospital facilities.

Mr. Mitchell's appearance before the subcommittee on April 21 followed an appeal the previous week by Dr. W. Montague Cobb to Negro physicians urging them to contribute $100 each to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom Fund "to banish discrimination from health areas." Dr. Cobb is professor of anatomy at the Howard University Medical School and chairman of the NAACP's national health committee.

In his testimony, Mr. Mitchell charged that "a recent ruling by Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has the effect of forcing colored people to discriminate against colored doctors in favor of white doctors."

He based his charge on Mrs. Hobby's refusal to withhold federal funds for a hospital in Houston, Texas, which denies staff privileges to Negro doctors "forcing them to channel their patients through white doctors if such patients are to be admitted to the hospital." A similar policy is followed in Birmingham which has received a federal grant for the clearance of a slum area on which to develop a medical center, he asserted.

"We believe it is only fair," the NAACP spokesman told the committee members, "that any hospital which receives money collected from all of the people throughout the country as taxes should be willing to open its doors to patients, physicians, nurses and other medical persons without regard to race, religion or national origin."

He asked that language be incorporated into the Health Act prohibiting segregation of or other discrimination against Negro patients and requiring "that no qualified physician, nurse, or other medical person shall be denied the use of facilities because of race, religion or national orgin."

WASHINGTON DOCTORS PLAN $100 GIFTS TO NAACP FFF

April 22, 1954

WASHINGTON, April 22.--Responding promptly to a challenge by Dr. W. Montague Cobb, members of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia this week endorsed his plan to have Negro medical men all over the country contribute $100 each to the Fight for Freedom Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Within hours after the D.C. physicians endorsed Dr. Cobb's proposal, Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Health to urge inclusion of provisions in the Health Act denying federal funds to any hospital which bars Negro medical personnel and segregates or otherwise discriminates against Negro patients.

The plan was first proposed by Dr. Cobb, a member of the NAACP Board of Directors and chairman of the Association's national health committee, in an address before the John A. Andrew Clinical Society in session at Tuskegee, Ala., on April 14.

Dr. Cobb cited the $25 tax levied by the American Medical Association upon its members to fight the national health insurance plan. This involved an issue, he said, "on which reasonable men might differ." However, he went on, "the moral principle that medical facilities and care ought to be available to the citizens of our country on the basis of need without racial discrimination of any kind is a principle on which reasonable men may not differ."

The NAACP, the Washington physician asserted, is prepared to carry on that fight to which Negro doctors especially should contribute generously. If all Negroes in the profession responded to the appeal it would provide a war chest of more than $400,000, he said.

Because of the moral principle involved, Dr. Cobb called upon his fellow physicians, "to assess themselves at least four times as much as the American Medical Association assessed its members in a lesser cause. Thus where AMA members bore a levy of $25 to fight national health insurance, Negro physicians would now eagerly contribute at least $100 each to banish discrimination from health areas."

The doctors were urged to send in their contributions without delay, and through their local and state medical associations to urge their colleagues to do likewise.

CHURCH OFFICIAL PLEDGES LIFE MEMBERSHIP IN NAACP

April 22, 1954

NEW YORK, April 22.--An eminent church dignitary and 12 other individuals and organizations last week manifested their belief in the goals of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by making initial payments on life memberships in the NAACP.

Bishop W.Y. Bell of South Boston, Va., a presiding bishop of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, followed up a pledge of support to the NAACP he had made at an annual meeting of the College of Bishops of his church in New York City recently. At the meeting, Bishop Bell had pledged his life membership in the Association and urged other CME bishops to follow suit.

Other initial payments on NAACP life memberships last week were received from Americans in every section of the country. In Cincinnati, five individuals joined simultaneously. They were: Councilman Theodore Berry, Abraham Goldhagen, Mrs. Margaret Smith, Walter S. Houston, and Tiny Bradshaw.

New England was represented by Mr. and Mrs. George Gordon of Springfield, Mass., and the Pacific Northwest by Thomas Johnson of Portland, Ore.

An initial life membership payment was received from Milton S. Kronheim in the nation's capital, and from Dr. and Mrs. Frank R. DeLuca in the Bronx, N.Y.

In addition, initial payments on life memberships came from M. Stewart Thompson, Detroit; the E. B. Koonce Mortuary, Inc., St. Louis; and the Loyal Buddies of Miami, Inc., Miami.

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM CAMPAIGN RICHER BY $459.84 THIS WEEK

April 22, 1954

NEW YORK, April 22.--Labor unions, churches, fraternities, local NAACP branches and individuals last week continued their financial support of the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign, by contributing a total of $459.84 to the cause.

The Fight for Freedom campaign aims to wipe out all racial discrimination and segregation in the United States by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in America, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., sent $200.00 to the Fight for Freedom.

The Chicago Heights, Ill., branch of the Association also forwarded $200.00, to aid the fight for civil rights on the national level, and the NAACP branch in Johnstown, Pa., $13.34. The funds from Johnstown were collected by local churches.

Local 1 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, in Ottumwa, Iowa, sent $25.00; and Alpha Pi Lambda chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity in Norfolk, Va., $20.00. An additional $1.50 was received from Miss Ella C. Carey, of the Bronx, New York.

CARIBBEAN CIVIL SERVANTS RECEIVE WAGE ADJUSTMENT

April 22, 1954

NEW YORK, April 22.--The 25 per cent cost of living allowance for 5,000 federal employees in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands has been restored, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was informed this week.

Restoration of the allowance followed intervention by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, who, on a tour of the Caribbean last January, learned not only that the allowance had been rescinded the previous August but also that natives of the islands are paid less by the U.S. Government for the same work than persons from the mainland.

Upon his return to this country, Mr. White took both these issues up with Congressman Jacob K. Javits and with the Civil Service Commission. A letter to Mr. White from a Puerto Rican civil service employee expressed "our heartfelt thanks for your backing which resulted in success and tranquility for so many families involved."

FHA "SCANDAL" LAID TO FAILURE BY CONGRESS

April 22, 1954

WASHINGTON, April 22.--If Congressmen had been as diligent in "scrutinizing the affairs" of the Federal Housing Administration as they were in slashing public housing, "we would not today be faced with the scandalous revelations that are on the front pages of the newspapers," an NAACP official told a Senate appropriations subcommittee this week.

Testifying before the subcommittee on April 21, Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, asserted: "Year after year, the public housing program has been scuttled by the same persons who showered every possible advantage on FHA."

He added that "in the eyes of some House members, the chief sin of the public housing program is that it helps the weak and the humble." These House members, he said, "seem to believe that the chief virtue of FHA is that it enjoys the support of the rich and the powerful."

Mr. Mitchell asked for clarification of the present confusion created by the House in cutting public housing. This could be done, he noted, by authorizing the construction of 140,000 new public housing units for the next four years, as proposed by President Eisenhower.

This would not be enough, Mr. Mitchell contended, but it would be a good beginning.

The NAACP representative estimated that present slum clearance programs will displace 71,000 families and that some 35,000 of these will be eligible for public housing.

"It is still impossible to see how we can have a productive slum clearance and redevelopment program without public housing," he said.

NAACP URGED BY PASTOR TO AID GEORGE HOLMAN

April 22, 1954

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., April 22.--George Holman, celebrated arson case defendant who was convicted for allegedly setting the New Amsterdam Hotel fire of 1944, has had a strong appeal made on his behalf to the NAACP by a leading local clergyman. Twenty-two lives were lost in the fire.

The Rev. Hamilton T. Boswell, pastor of Jones Methodist Church here, told NAACP official Franklin H. Williams last week that he believes Mr. Holman "is not guilty." Mr. Williams is secretary-counsel for the West Coast office of the Association here.

"I heartily comend to the Association that they study the transcript of the Holman case and possibly there will be discovered a denial of due process of law and other inequities beyond the control of Mr. Holman," Mr. Boswell suggested in a letter to the NAACP West Coast director. "Will you please consider this case and use the good offices of the National Association to rescue this man?"

MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR PICKENS

April 22, 1954

NEW YORK, April 22.--Memorial services for William Pickens, the late field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will be held in the Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, at 7:30 Thursday night, April 29. The services will be held under the joint auspices of the church of which he was a member and of the NAACP. Mr. Pickens died at sea on April 6.

Speakers scheduled to address the services include Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister emeritus of the Community Church and one of the signers of the original call that led to the founding of the NAACP; and Atty. Thomas G. Weaver of the Talladega Club of New York. There will be a solo by David Perry, baritone, and readings by the Rev. Donald Harrington, minister of the Community Church.

NAACP APPROACHING VICTORY IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

For Release After 6:00 p.m. Saturday, April 24:

OMAHA, Neb., April 24.--Victory is in sight in the struggles of the NAACP for "a positive equality of existence" for minority groups in America, an NAACP official said here tonight.

Carl R. Johnson, a member of the Association's board of directors, declared: "To accomplish this victory for ourselves and remove the haze of prejudice, segregation and discrimination from American life, no lawful weapon at our command should be left unused, no arms stacked until every man and woman of our time is free and free indeed."

Mr. Johnson, who is president of the NAACP's Kansas City, Mo., branch, addressed a "Fight for Freedom" banquet audience. The banquet was part of a three-day regional conference for NAACP local leaders from five states.

COLE 'ANTI-BIAS' HOUSING PLAN DENOUNCED BY NAACP

April 22, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 22.--Proposed anti-discrimination plans of Housing Administrator Albert M. Cole submitted to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee represent a "doctrine of appeasement and expediency" and are "unworthy of our country," the NAACP told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in a letter made public last week.

The letter, released by the Washington bureau of the NAACP and signed by Clarence Mitchell, the bureau director, was sent to Senator Homer Capehart, committee chairman, in reply to a statement sent to the committee by Mr. Cole on April 6.

The NAACP charged that under Mr. Cole's plan, FHA-insured housing developments from which Negro families now are barred, solely because of race, would continue to be racially segregated. Meanwhile, the Association pointed out, Mr. Cole would have the federal government underwrite the cost of building segregated housing for Negro and other minority groups.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People strongly opposes a program which would isolate minority group families from the mainstream of American life," the letter declared.

The NAACP letter asked the committee and the Congress to enact strong safeguards against racial discrimination in the federal housing bill--S. 2938--now in committee.

Unless such safeguards are incorporated in the housing bill, Mr. Mitchell asserted, "the Housing Agencies will continue their present program of promoting racial segregation with the help of federal funds."

"Every housing official, including Mr. Cole, knows that FHA-insured projects are designated as white or for colored at the time lenders agree to advance funds. Hence, the present policy forbids restrictive covenants in writing, but promotes exclusion from new housing through other types of agreements by the builders, lenders, and occupants.

"It is unlikely that the present housing officials will depart from this policy unless they are clearly instructed to do so by your committee."

The letter noted that on March 24 last, the NAACP offered an amendment to the proposed housing bill which would specify: "The aids and powers made available under the several titles of this Act are not to be conditioned or limited in any way on account of race, religion, or national origin of builders, lenders, renters, buyers, or families to be benefited."

EL CENTRO SCHOOL DISCRIMINATION TO BE FOUGHT BY CALIFORNIA NAACP

April 22, 1954

EL CENTRO, Calif., April 22.--Racial discrimination against school children here will come under attack by the Southern Area Council of the NAACP when the group meets here May 1.

Lucian James, president of the Imperial Valley (Calif.) NAACP unit, has stated that a preliminary survey of grade school practices in this Imperial Valley community "shows all the earmarks of Jim Crow."

The Imperial Valley chapter of the Association has formally requested the services of NAACP field secretary Lester P. Bailey, who directed the successful integration of Cairo, Ill., schools in 1952.

John H. Dial, Jr., president of the Southern Area Council, announced this week that race practices in the El Centro schools are the next item on his organization's agenda.

"We will attack every vestige of discriminatory treatment of minorities in this state until the conditions under which Negroes and other groups must live are equal to those offered white citizens," Mr. Dial declared.

The Southern Area Council represents NAACP branches in 23 California cities and in Las Vegas, Nev.

REFUSAL OF SERVICE IS "INHERENT LEGAL RIGHT" -- LAS VEGAS MAYOR

April 22, 1954

LAS VEGAS, Nev., April 22.--Answering an NAACP inquiry on the status of a civil rights ordinance pending before the city council here, Mayor C.D. Baker declared last week: "Social equality cannot be legislated ... and ... the right to refuse service is an inherent legal right."

The mayor said he spoke for the local board of commissioners.

A letter to the NAACP from Mayor Baker noted: "So long as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has branded the entire State of Nevada as the 'Mississippi of the West,' a law instituted on the scale of a State Act seems mandatory to remove any stigma on the state as a whole ..."

The civil rights ordinance pending in Las Vegas was sponsored by the NAACP and submitted to the local board of commissioners last year.

The NAACP charged last month that Las Vegas is the "Mississippi of the West" because of its primitive racial attitudes. At that time, the Association pointed out that racial discrimination is the "general policy" of hotels, motels, restaurants and places of recreation in Las Vegas.

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DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: April 29, 1954

WHITE HOUSE AGAIN URGED TO BAN HOUSING JIM CROW

April 29, 1954

NEW YORK, April 29.--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has again urged President Eisenhower to "order housing agencies to cease giving assistance of any kind to communities, builders, lending agencies or borrowers unless there is positive assurance that housing facilities constructed with the help of the federal government ... are available to all qualified lenders, buyers or users without regard to race."

In a telegram to the President, dated April 22, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, expressed the Association's "increasing concern about the failure of the federal housing agencies to prevent use of federal funds, mortgage insurance and other assistance to create housing and facilities that are segregated on the basis of race."

The NAACP secretary cited Levittown, Pa., as the "most arrogant example of such abuse" in that the Federal Housing Administration has guaranteed the mortgages for this lily-white development of 20,000 homes. However, Mr. White told the President, federal funds have been used to assist the development of similar racially exclusive projects in Baltimore, Birmingham, Savannah and Paducah, Ky.

The telegram reminded the Chief Executive that the Levittown issue had been placed before him by an NAACP delegation on January 13. Previously the entire situation had been presented to Albert M. Cole, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, in a comprehensive memorandum on May 6, 1953.

No positive action to ban such discrimination has been taken by the White House or the housing agencies. Nor has Congress included any prohibitory clause in the housing legislation to prevent the use of federal funds to perpetuate and extend racial segregation.

SENATORS URGED TO HALT BIRMINGHAM DEVELOPMENT

April 29, 1954

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 29.--A proposed slum clearance and redevelopment program in the Birmingham Medical Center area was protested anew this week by a regional NAACP official as "a perfect example of federal funds being allocated for a clearly discriminatory program."

The protest was made by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, the Association's southeast regional secretary, in letters to two U.S. senators. The communications were sent to Senator Homer Capehart, chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency committee, and Senator Leverett Saltonstall, chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee.

The message addressed to Senator Capehart by Mrs. Hurley pointed out that "the Housing and Home Finance Agency has approved the allocation of more than four and one-half million dollars to the Housing Authority of the Birmingham District, which is attempting to quickly acquire the property of private citizens either by purchase or through condemnation and eminent domain for resale to private individuals, corporations, or agencies against the will of a majority of the said owners and with the prior knowledge of the history of racial segregation and discrimination in this city."

The Birmingham project was offered as an example to Mr. Capehart by Mrs. Hurley to urge inclusion of an anti-discrimination clause in the federal housing bill now pending before the Senate Banking and Currency committee.

In a telegram to President Eisenhower in February Mrs. Hurley had asserted that NAACP objections to the Birmingham Medical Center redevelopment plan included: inadequate housing facilities for persons -- especially Negro families -- displaced by the redevelopment, segregation in hospital facilities in the area, and prohibitions barring Negro physicians from attending their patients in Jefferson-Hillman Hospital.

Mrs. Hurley's letter to Senator Saltonstall also urged an anti-discrimination amendment in the federal housing bill.

"I believe ... the Housing Authority of the Birmingham District and the City of Birmingham are moving in every way they know how to clear Negroes from the Medical Center area without conforming to the provisions for relocation under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act," the message declared.

"I believe further that with the aid of federal funds the city will go forward with this plan and there will be extension and perpetuation of racial discriminatory practices which are adverse to the well-being of forty per cent of Birmingham's population."

LABOR LEADER TO ADDRESS ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION

April 29, 1954

NEW YORK, April 29.--James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, will deliver one of the major addresses at the 45th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Dallas, June 29 to July 4, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, announced today.

Mr. Carey will speak at the evening session on June 30. One of the most active and outspoken advocates of civil rights in the labor movement, Mr. Carey has been chairman of the CIO's anti-discrimination committee since it first was set up in 1942.

In addition to Mr. Carey, other speakers include Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; and Mr. White.

1,000 NEW ENGLAND YOUTHS FORM NAACP SIX-STATE ORGANIZATION

April 29, 1954

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., April 29.--A New England Regional Conference of NAACP youth councils and college chapters was organized here last week, with a membership of approximately 1,000 young people in six states.

In making this announcement, Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary, said the new organization will "expand the scope of the NAACP program to meet the needs of young people in the New England area."

Mr. Wright reported that the 85 youth delegates who attended the founding conference drew up plans for expanded NAACP youth work in New England which include:

-- Recruiting larger numbers of young people, both Negro and white, into the work of the Association;

-- Carrying on an extensive vocational guidance program to inform young Negroes of new employment and scholarship opportunities available to them;

-- Working with school officials, labor unions and industrialists to initiate skilled crafts apprenticeship training programs at the high school level.

The following temporary officers were elected for the New England Regional Conference: Don Simmons, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., president; George Davis, Providence, R.I., and James Gibbs, New Haven, Conn., vice presidents; Louis Sharpe, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., corresponding secretary; Miss Betty Jackson, Norwalk, Conn., recording secretary; and Miss Joan Hall, Plainville, Conn., treasurer.

REPORT THAT SOUTHERN TEACHERS JOINING NAACP IN LARGE NUMBERS

April 29, 1954

NEW YORK, April 29.--Teachers in the South have joined the NAACP "in considerable numbers" during the Association's spring membership campaigns, it was reported this week by Miss Lucille Black, NAACP membership secretary.

Miss Black said that 322 teachers recently joined the Richmond, Va., branch of the

Association, and another 250 teachers affiliated with the Winston-Salem, N.C., NAACP unit.

The South Carolina State Conference of NAACP Branches "has been receiving a steady flow of teacher memberships," Miss Black said. "This would seem to indicate that Negro teachers in the South have not been taken in by the scare propaganda that they will lose their jobs if the NAACP wins its fight to ban segregation in education," the membership secretary asserted.

The NAACP is circulating a pamphlet among teachers citing the experience in communities where integration has already been attained and pointing out that the nationwide shortage of teachers precludes any mass firing of Negroes to keep them from teaching white children in integrated schools.

NAACP FIGHT FOR FREEDOM CAMPAIGN RICHER BY $2,188

April 29, 1954

NEW YORK, April 29.--Donations totalling more than $2,000 were received by the NAACP this week to aid the organization in its Fight for Freedom campaign. The exact amount was $2,188.08.

The Fight for Freedom campaign aims to step up the NAACP's civil rights work so as to achieve full freedom for all Negro Americans by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The sum of $1,015.23 was presented to the Fight for Freedom campaign by the Association's Omaha branch, at a Freedom banquet in that city. The major portion of the contribution was raised through a benefit dance, supplemented by donations from churches, businesses and individuals in the community.

Mrs. Mildred Brown of the Omaha Star, Mrs. Juanita Parr, president of the Quacks Club and general chairman of the Fight for Freedom campaign for Omaha, and George Curry, president of the Rattlers Club, provided leadership for the Omaha fund-raising campaign.

The Freedom banquet in Omaha was part of a three-day regional conference for NAACP local leaders from five states. Among speakers at the conference were Roy Wilkins, Gloster B. Current and Miss Lucille Black of the National Office.

Another $500.00 was received for the campaign from a public meeting in Fort Worth, Tex., at which the principal speaker was the Association's executive secretary, Walter White. The meeting was sponsored by the Fort Worth branch of the NAACP of which Dr. George D. Flemmings is president.

It was reported by Miss Lulu B. White, director of NAACP branches in Texas, that the sum of $2,417.25 was raised at a public meeting in Houston, Texas, last week, at which Mr. White spoke. The meeting was under auspices of the Houston branch of the NAACP.

A total of $124.00 was received by the NAACP from four of its branches and a youth council. Branches that contributed were: Lake County, Ill., $34.40; Salina, Kans., $30.00; Leavenworth, Kans., $25.00; Elizabeth, N.J., $18.83. The youth council in Kansas City, Kansas, sent $16.00.

Two life memberships of $500 were taken out in the Association during the week, by Mrs. Mary F. Ashley of Des Moines, Iowa, and the Falstaff Brewing company, St. Louis, Mo. An initial payment on an NAACP life membership was made by Bishop Felix L. Lewis of Bakersfield, Calif.

A trade union and a church sent funds to the Fight for Freedom campaign. Three locals of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, in Jersey City, N.J., Cambridge, Mass., and Evansville, Ind., donated a total of $45.00. Huntsville Baptist Church in Oxford, N.C., contributed $12.35.

Americans who contributed to the campaign on an individual basis, in addition to the new life members, were: Attorney Myles Stevens, Kansas City, Kans., $50.00; Mrs. Eve Hanna, Omaha, Neb., $10.00; William Cratic, Minneapolis, Minn., $5.00; and Miss Judy Collins, Omaha, fifty cents.

NEW STATE LAWS PROTECT MIGRANT FARM WORKERS

April 29, 1954

NEW YORK, April 29.--Three NAACP-sponsored bills on migrant farm labor have been passed by the New York State Legislature and signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported this week to Walter White, executive secretary. Three other bills opposed by the NAACP, were defeated.

Among the approved bills passed by the recently concluded session of the Legislature were one requiring registration of labor contractors, another authorizing the State Department of Health to prescribe minimum, uniform standards for living quarters in migrant farm labor camps, and the third, providing an additional penalty of $25 a day for each day a camp is maintained in violation of the sanitay code.

Efforts of the New York State Conference of NAACP branches were largely responsible for the defeat of an amendment to the Child Labor Act which would have permitted employment during the summer months of children of any age in certain agricultural occupations. Other rejected bills included one to permit "variations" in the Public Health Law for farm labor camps, and another to exempt from the Motor Vehicle Law trucks and other vehicles used by migatory farm workers.

LAND HUNGER SEEN AS CRUX OF KENYA ISSUE

April 29, 1954

NEW YORK, April 29.--Violent acts by the Mau Mau in East Africa against white settlers in that region are likened to the slave revolts of ancient Rome by a distinguished author and journalist writing in the current issue of The Crisis magazine.

George Padmore, a Londoner who is an expert on African affairs, writes that "the Mau Mau supporters are fighting for land, without which they prefer death."

"In a country like Kenya (East Africa)," Mr. Padmore asserts, "where ... old age security, by way of pension or national provident fund, does not exist, unless an urbanized African owns a piece of land ... to which he can return in his old age, he might as well be dead."

The colonial governing system in Kenya is so repressive, Mr. Padmore declares, that "unless the the Africans resort to direct action, their rulers just refuse to recognize -- much less redress -- their grievances."

The "immediate problem" in Kenya is "the ending of the bloody violence on both sides," Mr. Padmore says, so that constructive action can be taken.

To put an end to Mau Mau, the author contends, the British government will have to give the Africans "an irrevocable guarantee" that it will "open the Highlands to landless Kikuyus, abolish the color bar, reopen the Independent schools, expand educational facilities, pay Africans in the civil service equal pay for equal work," and allow African representation in local and central government councils.

The Crisis is the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

EDITORIAL OF THE WEEK

The following is an editorial published in The Detroit Free Press, April 26, 1954:

"Actually a Campaign on Behalf of America"

"Last week, on the calendar of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was Fight for Freedom Week. It was devoted to a drive to raise a million dollar national fund, with Detroit's allocated share $20,000.

"The money will be used to wage the NAACP's fight against discrimination; to bring to Negroes the full citizenship rights of which they are deprived in so many parts of America, including its national capital.

"It is the intention of the NAACP to push this battle for ten years. There is no thought that the victory can be quickly won. Discrimination and prejudice are too deeply entrenched for that. The plan is that a million dollars will be raised each year of the decade-long campaign.

"We know of no more genuine way to enhance the stature of the United States than to lend the NAACP a hand in its effort. Perhaps the most damaging indictment which other nations lodge against this Country is that for many of our people the blessings of democracy are in large part a myth.

"It is a charge against us which comes from friends and enemies alike, and which is greatly damaging because its truth cannot honestly be denied. We will be in a far better position to influence those whom we urge to treasure the boon of democracy when we can stand before the world as an unmarred example of it.

"But dollars alone don't suffice to win battles of the sort the NAACP faces. The work and the voices of individuals are needed also. Beginning now and continuing until May 28, the NAACP will conduct its annual membership drive. There are in Detroit about 10,000 members. The drive's goal is 15,000. To us this seems a modest aspiration indeed in a place of such size. And it would be a tremendous credit to this City if far more than the number sought were to enroll in the NAACP."

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET **NEW YORK 18, N. Y.** **LONGACRE 3-6890**

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: FOR SUNDAY PAPERS, MAY 9, 1954:

MURRAY MEMORIAL FOUNDATION TO PRESENT GRANT TO NAACP

NEW YORK, May 8.--The Philip Murray Memorial Foundation has made a grant of $75,000 to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White, the Association's executive secretary, announced today.

Formal presentation of the award will be made here at 5 o'clock, Wednesday, May 12, at the International Center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United Nations Plaza at 46th Street. Walter P. Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, will make the presentation, which will be accepted by Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP president.

Also participating in the ceremonies will be Emil Rieve, chairman of the Murray Memorial Foundation Board and president of the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; Joseph Curran, president, National Maritime Union, CIO; Arthur Goldberg, CIO general counsel, and director of the Foundation; and Mr. White.

The Foundation was established to commemorate the life and work of the late president of the CIO who was also a member of the board of directors of the NAACP. As head of the CIO, Mr. Murray was a consistent supporter of civil rights measures to eliminate inequalities in American life.

The grant is being made for the purpose of aiding the NAACP in the development, through educational means, of a climate of opinion receptive to the eradication of racial discrimination and segregation. The $75,000 will be set aside in a separate fund by the NAACP for financing such projects as films, literature and community action programs to improve race relations.

In addition to these projects, the fund will be used to establish an annual Philip Murray Award as a companion to the Spingarn Medal. The new award will be presented to an American for outstanding contributions to interracial justice. The Spingarn Medal is awarded annually to a Negro American for distinguished achievement.

NAACP URGES VOTE FOR ANTI-BIAS AMENDMENTS TO TAFT HARTLEY ACT

May 6, 1954

NEW YORK, May 6.--Senators of both parties have been urged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to vote for the proposed amendment to the Taft-Hartley Labor Act which would make racial or religious discrimination in employment an unfair labor practice in plants covered by the Act.

The amendments, submitted by New York's two senators, Herbert H. Lehman and Irving M. Ives, were proposed by Clarence Mitchell, director, NAACP Washington Bureau, at hearings before the Senate Labor Committee on April 29. In his testimony, the NAACP spokesman cited endorsement of the proposed anti-discrimination clause by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Walter Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The amendments, which are practically identical, would make it illegal for either employers or unions to discriminate in hiring or in union membership against any person because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.

The NAACP today made public the content of telegrams sent on May 5 by Mr. White to Senate leaders urging their support of the amendments and terming "this proposal ... a vital step toward securing equality of job opportunity."

Senators William S. Knowland, majority leader, Homer Ferguson, chairman of the Majority Policy Committee, Leverett Saltonstall, majority whip and H. Alexander Smith, chairman of the Labor Committee, were asked to "rally the support" of their party behind the measure to ensure passage of "this urgently needed legislation."

Meanwhile, the Association asked local and state leaders in key states to wire their senators and the Senate leaders urging them to vote for the anti-discrimination proposal and to prevent any attempt to bypass it or to kill it by filibuster.

NAACP URGES DEFEAT OF VIRGIN ISLANDS BILL AS "BACKWARD STEP"

May 6, 1954

NEW YORK, May 6.--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today publicly stated its opposition to a bill now before the Senate which the NAACP says would deprive citizens of the Virgin Islands of "privileges they have exercised for the past 18 years."

Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, asserted that the proposed legislation would constitute a "backward step" for the people of the Virgin Islands and if passed "would do irreparable harm to America's reputation and prestige."

Mr. White's views were contained in telegrams sent by him to Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior, and to three senators: Herbert H. Lehman and Irving M. Ives of New York, and Hugh Butler of Nebraska. The telegrams were dispatched on

May 5.

The NAACP messages noted that the proposed bill, to amend the Organic Act for Virgin Islands, would reduce the "partial autonomy" granted Virgin Islanders in 1936 by "transferring certain powers previously given an elected legislature to an appointed governor and the U.S. Secretary of the Interior."

The progress of Virgin Islanders since 1936 in "mastering the democratic process" shows their readiness for the election of a resident commissioner and a governor, rather than "being deprived of privileges they have exercised for the past 18 years," the telegrams declared.

NEW MEMBERS APPOINTED TO NAACP CHURCH COMMITTEE

May 6, 1954

NEW YORK, May 6.--Twelve new members have been appointed to the national church committee of the NAACP, it was announced here today by the Rev. Walter P. Offutt, church secretary of the Association.

The appointments were made by the Board of Directors of the NAACP.

Mr. Offutt said the church committee maintains close liaison between U.S. churches and the NAACP to promote church participation in the program of the Association.

The new members are: Bishop W.Y. Bell, South Boston, Va.; the Rev. Hamilton T. Boswell, San Francisco, Calif.; the Rev. J. Welby Broaddus, Dayton, Ohio; Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio; the Rev. D.E. King, Louisville, Ky.

Also: the Rev. George W. Lucas, Dayton, Ohio; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta, Ga.; the Rev. W.A. Page, Cincinnati, Ohio; the Rev. H.B. Sissel, Detroit, Mich.; Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, Washington, D.C.; and Dr. Arthur J. Swift, New York.

NORTHERN JIM CROW CALLED FREEDOM CAMPAIGN TARGET

May 6, 1954

SCHENECTADY, May 6.--The all-out Freedom campaign to be "Free in '63" must include the elimination of racial discrimination and segregation in the North as well as the South, it was asserted here by Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator.

"The Schenectady branch of the NAACP is to be congratulated for not being lulled to sleep in the mistaken belief that the Fight for Freedom should be carried on exclusively Down South," Wilkins said in an address to the branch on May 3. "Right here in Schenectady you are engaged in a running battle for better and unsegregated housing, and for better jobs. To be successful, the Freedom Campaign must wipe out discrimination in the North as well as in the South. And there is plenty of work in the North."

Prior to the monthly meeting of the branch members, Mr. Wilkins spoke to a dinner meeting of 60 persons including judges, lawyers, real estate dealers, ministers, newspapermen, county political officials, and other community leaders who had been especially invited by the Schenectady branch to hear a talk on the objectives, philosophy, and methods of the NAACP.

CHURCHMAN CALLS ON U.S. NEGROES TO CONTINUE EQUAL RIGHTS FIGHT

May 6, 1954

LEXINGTON, Ky., May 6.--A churchman and civil rights expert has urged American Negro citizens never to let up in their fight for equal rights.

The Rev. Walter P. Offutt, church secretary of the NAACP, told delegates to a state NAACP convention here last week that the Negro has been loyal to America but in return for this loyalty has been "humiliated and subjected to many disadvantages in this land of the free."

Mr. Offutt declared that the Negro's "march toward freedom" will continue "with no force powerful enough to stop it."

He delivered the keynote address at the convention, which wound up its three-day session on May 2.

NEGRO STUDENTS ASKED TO STOP "SELF-IMPOSED SEGREGATION"

May 6, 1954

PHILADELPHIA, May 6.--Negro students at Temple University here were asked today to reverse a pattern of "self-imposed segregation" developing "rapidly" at this historic Pennsylvania institution of higher learning.

Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth director, told the students that "the administration of this university has done its utmost to assure you free and equal access to all its facilities."

"It is, therefore, incumbent upon each of you to accept the responsibility of utilizing these facilities in like manner."

NAACP STATE YOUTH MEET TO CONSIDER CURRENT ISSUES

May 6, 1954

KALAMAZOO, Mich., May 6.--Proposed amendments to the Taft-Hartley Labor Law, ways to curb juvenile delinquency and a proposal to lower the voting age to 18 are among the topics up for discussion at an NAACP state youth conference here this month.

The young delegates from NAACP college chapters, youth councils, and branches throughout Michigan also will ponder the position which the U.S. delegation to the World Assembly of Youth should take on fundamental human rights issues. The Assembly meets in Singapore this summer.

The NAACP youth conference will be held May 21 to 23.

NAACP GAINS EIGHT NEW LIFE MEMBERS

May 6, 1954

NEW YORK, May 6.--Eight Americans last week became life members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and another nine persons made an initial payment on a life membership in the Association.

Three bishops of the CME Church, a pastor and a newspaper publisher were among the new NAACP life members. They were: Bishop J.A. Hamlett, Kansas City, Kans.; Bishop Felix L. Lewis, Bakersfield, Calif.; Bishop W.Y. Bell, South Boston, Va.; the Rev. I.H. Henderson, Kansas City, Kans.; and Louis E. Martin of Chicago, Editor of the Chicago Defender and publisher of The Michigan Chronicle of Detroit.

Others who became life members last week were Dr. J.F. Evans, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mrs. Olivia Watkins Shaw, Kansas City, Mo.; and Albert Maddox, Los Angeles, Calif.

An initial payment on an NAACP life membership was made by South Hoover Hospital, Los Angeles, Calif.; James Lewis, Washington, D.C.; Fred L. Goldman, Kansas City, Mo.; the Rev. John W. Williams, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Juanita Jewel Craft, Dallas, Tex.; Mrs. Dick Foster, Dallas, Tex.; Barksdale Brown, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mr. and Mrs. J.L. Hill, Los Angeles, Calif.

A general contribution of $50.00 to the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign was received last week from Stanley M. Isaacs, a member of the New York City Council. Two other contributions of $2.00 each came from Miss Sylvia Chine of Omaha, Neb., and Joel Motley, Sr., of Decatur, Ill.

In addition, the NAACP Tri-Cities branch in Illinois -- representing the towns of Moline, East Moline, and Rock Island--donated $5.76 to the Fight for Freedom campaign.

The Fight for Freedom campaign aims to wipe out race discrimination and segregation in the U.S. by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

CLAIMS NEGRO VOTERS SUPPORTED SPARKMAN

May 6, 1954

BIRMINGHAM, May 6.--The Negro vote in the Democratic primary in Alabama contribut to the re-nomination of Senator John Sparkman in the election of May 4, W.C. Patton, president of the Alabama State Conference of NAACP branches, concluded today after a study of the returns. The nomination is equivalent to election in Alabama.

According to Mr. Patton, who conducted an intensive drive to enlarge the Negro vote in the state, practically all of the colored voters cast their ballots for Mr. Sparkman as "the lesser of the evils." Mr. Patton estimates the registered Negro vote in the state at between 50,000 and 60,000.

Two Negroes were elected to the Mobile County Democratic Executive Committee. There were nine Negro candidates for various offices in the state of which number only Alex Herman and Clarence H. Montgomery in Mobile were elected.

Mr. Patton also reported that the Negro vote in Birmingham went solidily against "Bull" Connor who was seeking to regain political power in the racefor sheriff of Jefferson County. Connor was defeated.

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NEWS FROM
NAACP
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WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: MAY 13, 1954

MURRAY FUND GRANT OF $75,000 AIDS CIVIL RIGHTS ACCEPTANCE

May 13, 1954

NEW YORK, May 13.--Educational projects to secure "the full acceptance of civil rights" were under study this week by officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as they prepared to allocate the $75,000 grant of the Philip Murray Memorial Foundation to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The grant, the largest ever made by a foundation to advance the program of the NAACP, was presented by CIO President Walter Reuther to NAACP President Arthur B. Spingarn here on May 12 before a distinguished gathering at the Carnegie Endowment Building. It was earmarked for "educational purposes in race relations in the name of Philip Murray, with the overall purpose of promoting and fostering, by educational means, the full acceptance of civil rights guaranteed by the American Constitution."

"In no aspect of american life is there such an ugly gap as between what America preaches and practices in civil rights," Mr. Reuther asserted. "The United States must prove to other nations of the world that America's great material wealth will be put to a moral purpose."

Speaking on behalf of the Philip Murray Foundation, of which he is a trustee, Mr. Reuther said the grant is meant to help the NAACP in the "many tasks" it must do and the "many challenges" it must meet.

Spingarn Lauds Murray

Accepting the check for the NAACP and its Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Mr. Spingarn declared: "I am confident this grant from the Philip Murray Foundation will serve to weld even more closely some common aims of the CIO, the NAACP, and the Legal and Educational Fund -- all of which work tirelessly to stop the exploitation, even persecution, of persons who, because of their economic situation, their race or national origin, are exposed to threats against their general welfare and their rights as human beings."

He expressed the hope that the grant will make possible the realization of a "mutual hope of the CIO and NAACP" of "achieving a more mature and enlightened climate of opinion in America."

A letter from Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, read by the Association's administrator, Roy Wilkins, described the work of the NAACP as "almost [a] half century of effort to dry-clean American democracy of its racial stains."

"From my 36 years of association with the NAACP," Mr. White's letter continued, "I am convinced that it is the most effective weapon yet devised against racial bigotry."

A telegram from James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Philip Murray Foundation and of the CIO, and president of the CIO's International Union of Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, maintained that the opponents of racial democracy, clinging to their prejudices, "stand as a monument to the NAACP."

Mrs. Roosevelt Speaks

Another speaker, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, pointed out that what the United States does in the field of racial relations "is watched all over the world." Philip Murray, she said, "stood for justice and equality for all citizens of the United States."

Other speakers at the ceremonies were Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel of the CIO and the United Steelworkers of America and director of the Philip Murray Foundation; the Hon. Averell Harriman, former U.S. ambassador and special assistant to President Truman, and a board member of the Philip Murray Foundation; Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union of America and chairman of the Philip Murray Foundation; and Willard Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees of America, CIO.

The bulk of the $75,000 will be spent during the next three years on educational projects designed to develop "understanding and acceptance of desegregation of institutions and activities under governmental control," according to the terms of the grant.

To Establish Murray Award

In addition, the NAACP will establish immediately an annual Philip Murray Award to be given to the individual or organization making an outstanding contribution in race relations during the past year or years.

The Board of Directors of the Philip Murray Foundation stated in presenting the grant:

"... Philip Murray was an outstanding champion of civil rights for all the people. He hated injustice and discrimination of any kind. He insisted again and again that democracy has a moral responsibility to fight intolerance and to provide a better, more secure, life for every individual.

"Throughout his career, Philip Murray actively applied these principles to the trade union organizations in which he had the responsibility of leadership. The changing, improving atmosphere of racial relations in America was a matter of pride to Philip Murray, and indeed, his own policy and program contributed substantially to evolutionary improvement of racial relations."

The spending of the $75,000 grant will be supervised and directed by a committee composed of Mr. Spingarn, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors, Judge William H. Hastie, Mr. White, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, and Mr. Goldberg.

The late Philip Murray was for several years a member of the board of directors of the NAACP.

The Philip Murray Memorial Foundation was established by the unions of the CIO with a fund of nearly $1,000,000 to honor the memory of the late president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the United Steelworkers of America, CIO.

CME GENERAL CONFERENCE URGES SUPPORT OF FFF

May 13, 1954

MEMPHIS, May 13.--Following an address by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the general conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church called upon "every member of our church [to] become a member of the NAACP either through local branches or through the national office."

This recommendation was one of several embodied in a resolution endorsing the NAACP unanimously passed by the conference here on May 7. The resolution further pledged "our encouragement and support to the current campaign known as the Fight for Freedom campaign to strengthen the organization in its efforts to wipe out racial discrimination in Anerica by 1963, which will mark the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation."

Expressing "deep satisfaction with the work of the NAACP," the conference resolution asserted the belief that the organization "is working in accordance with Christian principles when step by step it brings about recognition of a single standard of personality and citizenship in American life, remembering that it is a fundamental principle of Christianity that 'God is no respecter of persons.'"

The work of the Association in breaking down racial barriers and creating new opportunities for Negroes was cited. In appreciation of that work, the Episcopal districts of the CME Church "have set a splendid example to other churches in enabling our bishops to take out life memberships in the NAACP at a cost of $500 each." The resolution recommended that "individual ministers and laymen follow this example."

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE SETS "ULTIMATUM" FOR MAYOR TO END HOUSING VIOLENCE

May 13, 1954

CHICAGO, May 13.--A demand that Mayor Kennelly take decisive action to end violence by white persons against Negro families in the Trumbull Park Homes project here has been made by a citizens' committee composed of civic, community, labor and church leaders.

The committee, which was organized under auspices of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, issued a statement this week declaring that if the continuing disturbances at Trumbull Park are not lawfully curbed, it will organize "a city-wide demonstration on the City Hall to be followed by a continuous demonstration until these objectives are obtained." The statement said the committee will set a date for expiration of its "ultimatum" to the mayor.

The citizens' group also called for an investigation of the entire Trumbull Park situation by both a special county grand jury and a federal grand jury, to determine the role played in the housing distrubances by such organizations as the White Circle League, the South Deering Improvement Association, the National Citizens' Protective Association, and "various individuals."

The committee's statement said the two juries also should investigate "the responsibility and possible malfeasance of office" by the mayor, city officials, and the police department," and issue indictments against those found responsible for the situation.

At the same time, the ten Negro families now residing in Trumbull Park Homes issued a joint statement noting that they intend to stay in the project and that the moving out of the Donald Howard family has not in any way altered their decision.

The Howard family was the first Negro family to move into Trumbull Park Homes. The Howards moved out of the project some two weeks ago.

The ten remaining Negro families declared: "We are concerned, but certainly not afraid. We will stay."

NAACP GETS THREE NEW LIFE MEMBERS

May 13, 1954

NEW YORK, May 13.--Two persons and an organization last week took out $500 life memberships in the NAACP, while a similar number made an initial payment on a life membership.

The new NAACP life members are: Dr. Albert I. Green, Waban, Mass.; Richard Perrin Graves, Lafayette, Calif.; and the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership.

An initial payment on a life membership was made by Dr. George Paine, Boston, Mass.; Morton S. Grossman, Chestnut Hill, Mass.; and Epsilon Tau Lambda chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, Hempstead, Tex.

These, together with other contributions, amounted to a total of $2,582.92 for the week. Other contributions included gifts from a memorial foundation, an individual, two labor unions, and four branches of the Association.

The Ray and Charles Newman Memorial Foundation, Inc., in New York City donated $500.00. Another $50.00 was sent by Dr. Allen Jackson of Hartford, Conn.

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, in Syracuse, N.Y., contributed $50.00, and the United Steel Workers of America, CIO, Local 2687, Neville Island, Pa., $25.00.

NAACP branches which sent funds to aid the fight for civil rights on the national level were: Eastern Long Island, N.Y., $88.26; Burlington, N.C., $66.66; Fort Smith, Ark., $50.00; and Logan County, Okla., $3.00. The donations from the Eastern Long Island and Logan County branches were raised by local churches.

ACTION SET TO BREAK RACE BIAS IN AFL BUILDING TRADES UNIONS

May 13, 1954

ORLANDO, Fla., May 13.--Racially discriminatory practices of AFL building trades unions were denounced by an NAACP official here last week as a "shameful betrayal of the traditional humanitarian and democratic ideals of the American labor movement."

Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant for the NAACP, told delegates to the annual conference of Florida NAACP branches that "Negroes solely by virtue of their color are denied membership in the AFL building trades unions in this area and are therefore denied the right to earn a living."

Mr. Hill reported that a personal investigation on his part disclosed that "in Dade County there is not a single Negro skilled worker employed in the vast construction at the Homestead Air Force Base now being built with 23 million dollars in federal funds.

"The exclusion of Negro workers from this project is a direct result of the discriminatory policies of the building and construction trades unions affiliated to the

American Federation of Labor."

Mr. Hill addressed the NAACP state convention at the conclusion of his investigation into discriminatory race practices in the building trades unions in Tampa, Miami, Homestead and this city.

He said he would take the results of his investigation to the leadership of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

EL CENTRO MAY HOLD WORLD'S RECORD FOR SHEDDING SCHOOL SEGREGATION

May 13, 1954

EL CENTRO, Calif., May 13.--A world's record for bringing a quick end to racial segregation may have been set here last week when a Negro child was enrolled in a for formerly all-white grammar school seven days after a special NAACP committee launched an investigation of discrimination against school children in this town.

The Rev. M.P. Jackson, chairman of the Imperial Valley NAACP school survey committee, explained this week that his committee undertook the investigation to prove or disprove charges that segregation exists in El Centro schools.

He said his committee brought out a report stating that El Centro's schools are racially segregated from kindergarten through the eighth grade, with the exception of one grammer school.

The report took note of the fact, Mr. Jackson said, that the El Centro high school was integrated several years ago following a similar survey conducted jointly by representatives of the NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The first Negro child broke the race barrier in El Centro elementary schools when little Carolyn White was enrolled in the formerly lily-white Harding Grammer School last week.

The branch was assisted in the fight by Lester P. Bailey, NAACP field secretary, who participated in the successful Cairo, Ill., campaign to end segregated schools in 1952.

BRITISH CONSUL GENERAL GETS ANTI-"AMOS 'N' ANDY" PROTEST

May 13, 1954

SAN FRANCISCO, May 13.--Sir Robert Hadow, counsul-general of the British government here, has been requested by the regional office of the NAACP to forward their protest to the British Broadcasting Corporation against its purchase and use of the American television program, "Amos 'n' Andy."

Joseph G. Kennedy, president of the Northern California Area of the NAACP, told Sir Robert that the "Amos 'n' Andy" show is "insulting to a large portion of American citizens" because of the "stereotypical character of the personalities portrayed on that program."

NEWS FROM
NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET · NEW YORK 18, N. Y. · LOngacre 3-6890
WALTER WHITE, *EXECUTIVE SECRETARY* · ROY WILKINS, *ADMINISTRATOR* · HENRY LEE MOON, *DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS*

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FOR RELEASE: May 20, 1954

COURT DECISION ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION TERMED "MOST IMPORTANT RACIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THIS CENTURY"

May 20, 1954

NEW YORK, May 20.--Educators, attorneys, businessmen, politicians, trade unionists, journalists and military personnel were among persons who congratulated the NAACP this week on its Supreme Court victory in the school segregation cases. In all, more than 200 congratulatory telegrams and letters were received by the Association during the first three days after the Supreme Court decision.

The National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Community Service Organization, the National Urban League, the San Francisco Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, American Civil Liberties Union, and the Liberal Party of New York State were among organizations which hailed the decision in messages to the NAACP. Carl Murphy, publisher of the Afro-American, and Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, called long distance to express their felicitations.

In addition, congratulatory messages were received by the Association from a number of its 1,300 branches throughout the U.S., as well as from individual members of the NAACP in various localities, and a host of other individuals in all sections of the nation and in Bangkok, San Salvador, Jamaica and the Virgin Islands.

Representative Samuel W. Yorty, a member of Congress from California, told the NAACP: "Your victory brings all of us closer to the true democracy for which we strive. I pledge my wholehearted support in the long, hard fight which still must be waged against prejudice and injustice."

Reuther Lauds Decision

Walter P. Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, called the decision "a heartwarming reaffirmation of ... American democratic principles."

"As a result of this historic decision," Mr. Reuther said, "children of every minority [group] in the United States will receive direct and substantial benefits, and, in turn, a greater share in our democracy."

Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, declared that thanks are due the NAACP for "a superb contribution to American democracy in helping to produce the most important racial development in this century."

The Hon. Christian A. Herter, governor of Massachusetts, expressed "personal gratification" at the decision and said that "with understanding of the problems involved by all parties concerned and with sincere, intelligent planning, I feel confident that the spirit of the law, as well as the letter, will be happily accepted by all good Americans."

A message from the American Jewish Congress asserted: "This successful climax to the campaign you have relentlessly waged for so many years will inspire all Americans to rededicate themselves with fresh zeal to our common responsibility of constantly extending and improving our democracy."

"A Turning Point"

The decision was called "a turning point in the history of America" by the Baltimore chapter of The Links -- a national women's organization, and "another great service to human relations" by The Women of America Club, Inc.

A telegram from the students and faculty of LeMoyne College in Memphis, Tenn., termed the victory for the NAACP cases a "significant achievement in behalf of all America."

Bartley C. Crum, a New York attorney and former publisher of the New York newspapers, PM and the Star, said the decision "means a very real step forward in the solution of the problems of our country, both domestic and foreign, and a tremendous amount of the credit must go to [the NAACP] for your everlasting efforts to end the shame of segregation."

Carl Cowan, a Knoxville, Tenn., lawyer, hailed the decision as achieving "citizenship to all on equal terms" which "gives meaning to democracy."

Other persons who sent messages of congratulation to the NAACP included Anson Phelps Stokes, New York, president emeritus of the Phelps Stokes Foundation; Arthur J. Goldberg, Pittsburgh, director and counsel of the Philip Murray Memorial Foundation of the CIO; Alfred H. Kelly, Ann Arbor, Mich., a historian at the University of Michigan who worked on the NAACP school cases; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Daytona Beach, Fla., founder and president emeritus of the National Council of Negro Women and Bethune Cookman College; Herbert Bayard Swope, New York City, journalist and editor who four times was awarded the Pulitzer Prize.

Also: A.P. Tureaud, New Orleans, a member of the NAACP's national legal staff; Maurice M. Weaver, a Chattanooga, Tenn., attorney who worked on the Columbia, Tenn., riot case; Dr. George D. Flemmings, Fort Worth, Tex., a board member of the NAACP; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn.; Miss Lulu D.

Lasker, a New York philanthropist; and John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

Labor unions which sent congratulatory messages included the United Steelworkers of America, CIO; District 65 of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America, CIO; and a New York local of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL.

Still other persons and organizations were: Louis and Eldra Shultegrandt, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; Miss Clara M. Tead, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.; the Elks department of Civil Liberties Unit 159, New York; Mil Byrd, New Orleans, La.; Alfred and Marian Yankauer, Albany, N.Y.; Lambda Kappa Mu sorority, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Esther Williams, Kansas City, Mo.; John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta, Ga.; Frank Horne, Washington, D.C.; E.M. Martin, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Hortense W. Gabel, New York; Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington, D.C., bureau; Dale Wright of Jet Magazine, New York; William Hallock Johnson, Princeton, N.J.; Donald Jones, a regional secretary of the NAACP in Cincinnati, Ohio; the Rev. H.M. Green, minister of Warren Chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Chattanooga, Tenn.; the news staff of the Kansas City, Mo., Call; the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, New York; Jack Glasser, Calvert Distillers corporation, New York; Ass'n of Supervisors NYC Dept. of Welfare ; Miss Pauli Murray, Brooklyn, N.Y.; William R. Hudgins, New York; Leon A. Ransom, Washington, D.C.; Miss Helen G. Trager, New York; Miss Stella L. Counselbaum, Chicago; Cecil and Charlotte Poole, San Francisco; Randall and Lois Tyus, New York; Jim Dorsey, Milwaukee, Wis.; Miss Elleene Epps Brown, Washington, D.C.; Herman H Decuir, Seattle, Washington; Miss Helen A. Heartwell, New York; Kivie Kaplan, Boston, a co-chairman of the Association's life membership committee; Morton S. Grossman, Boston, a member of the Association's life membership committee; Paul Moore, Jr., Mornistown, N.J.; Joshua O. Thompson, Ambler, Pa.; the Committee to End Discrimination in Levittown, N.Y.; Dr. and Mrs. A.M. Rivera, Yonkers, N.Y.; the National Council of Churches, with headquarters in New York; Dr. Ernie Martin, Bluefield, W. Va.; Arch Parsons, Jr., New York; Capt. John C. Cannon, U.S. Army hospital, Camp Kilmer, N.J.; Frank L. Stanley, Louisville, Ky.; the Misses Helene, Lurie, and Isabel Schleifer, New York; "Les Modernes," Wildwood, NJ; the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of the Elks of the World, Norfolk, Va.; James H. Scheuer, New York; Clarance Senior, Buffalo, N.Y.; L.I. Brockenbury, Los Angeles, Calif.

Dr. Palmer Weber, New York City; , Hugh Donnell, New York; Alfred H. Kelly, Detroit, Mich.; the High Marine Lodge, 12, F and AM, Jurisdiction of Colorado, Salt Lake City, Utah; the National Lawyers' Guild; The Girl Friends, Inc.; Ben Kaplan, Cambridge, Mass.; Dr. Joyce Yerwood and Dr. Joseph Carwin, Old Greenwich, Conn.;

Mrs. Henritta Payne, Louisville, Ky.; the United Negro College Fund, New York; Friendship House, Newburgh, N.Y.; the New Jersey Americans for Democratic Action, Newark, N.J.; Robert W. Dowling, New York; Ruby and William Holloway, Chicago; the Council for the Advancement of Negroes in Science; the National Association of Business and Professional Womens Clubs, Inc., Jamaica, N.Y.; the Neighborhood Business Association of Long Island, N.Y.; Gerald Weatherly, Rio Grande City, Tex.; L. Rodney Custis, Wethersfield, Conn.; Laura and Allen Rivkin, Beverly Hills, Calif.; Bill Vandenheuvel, Bangkok; the Committee on Civil Rights of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Local 758 of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Chicago; Local 13 of the Joint Council of Teamsters, AFL, St. Louis, Mo.; Douglas P. Falconer, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Richard L. Amster, Newark, N.J.; Miss Josephine Wilkins, New York; Miss Jean Williams, New York; Sidney and Idalee Wallach, New York; The New Leader, New York.

Pvt. D. Kelley, Fort Monmouth, N.J.; Ernest E. Johnson, New York; Mrs. Marie Wilson, Washington, D.C.; Miss Gerry Brown, Bainbridge, Md.; Harold K. Guinzburg, New York; Charles F. Schwep, New York; Mrs. Edna W. Putnam, Dorchester, Mass.; Miss Carolin A. Flexner, New York; Joseph L. McLemore, New York; the National Child Labor Committee, New York; Dr. and Mrs. Maurice Rabb, Louisville, Ky.; Walter T. Deininger, San Salvador; Gertrude and Peter Stone, New York; Lulu and Julius White, Houston, Tex.; O.T. Fairclough, Kingston, Jamaica.

The following local, regional and state units of the NAACP sent felicitations to the national office: Atlanta, Ga.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Worcester, Mass.; Staten Island, N.Y.; San Antonio, Tex.; Troy, N.Y.; Westchester County, N.Y.; Kansas City, Mo.; Lake County, Ill.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Houston, Tex.; Schenectady, N.Y.; Central Long Island, N.Y.; Columbus, Ohio; Texarkana, Tex.; Charleston, S.C.; Illinois, North Carolina, New York State, New Mexico, Missouri, and New England Regional Conference.

PRESS RECOGNIZES SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORIC U.S. COURT RULING

May 20, 1954

NEW YORK, May 20.--Recognition of the historic significance of the unanimous United States Supreme Court decision banning public school segregation is indicated by the widespread and continuing publicity given to the court's action.

To the Negro press, of course, it was the biggest news of the century and the newspapers gave it prompt and extensive coverage. Throughout the period leading up to the decision, Negro newspapers gave consistent editorial and financial support to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the drive to end public school segregation.

In many daily papers throughout the country, the ruling displaced the McCarthy hearing as the No. 1 story for Monday and Tuesday, May 17 and 18. The New York Times, which reserves its banner headlines for world-shaking events used a two-line, eight column streamer Tuesday morning to announce:

HIGH COURT BANS SCHOOL SEGREGATION;
9-TO-0 DECISION GRANTS TIME TO COMPLY

Even bigger headlines were used by the New York Journal-American in New York and other Hearst papers in Detroit and Chicago. The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, New York Daily News, Cleveland News, St. Louis Post-Dispatch are among daily newspapers which gave top billing to the momentous decision. A photograph of Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, together with Attorneys George E.C. Hayes and James Nabrit on the Courthouse steps was featured on page 1 of the New York Herald Tribune, New York Times, and other publications.

The Times gave the most complete coverage of the decision and its implications, devoting ten inside pages to the various aspects of the ruling. It published the complete texts of the two decisions -- the one for the four state cases, and the other, the District of Columbia case.

The press conference called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the afternoon of the decision was the largest and most representative ever held by the Association. In addition to newspaper reporters for the weeklies, dailies, wire services and foreign press there were radio recorders, and cameramen from television and newsreels.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors, presented the official board statement on the decision. Also participating in the conference were Arthur B. Spingarn, president; Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, member of the board; Walter White, executive secretary; and Mr. Marshall, who were questioned by newspapermen on the meaning of the decision and the follow-up steps to be taken. NAACP spokesmen were much in demand by radio and television stations. Among those participating on such programs were Dr. Tobias, Roy Wilkins, administrator; Messrs. White and Marshall and others.

SCHOOL VERDICT HAILED BY JUDGE J.W. WARING

May 20, 1954

NEW YORK, May 20.--Judge J. Waties Waring, whose dissenting opinion in the original Clarendon County, S.C., school segregation case has been vindicated by the U.S. Supreme Court, hailed the new ruling as a reaffirmation of "our belief in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution."

Judge Waring, who now is retired from the bench and resides here, said the decision "has finally killed the hypocrisy of those who practiced a vicious form of racial bias under the sophistry of the so-called separate but equal doctrine."

He expressed the view that "the decision will make history and will erase the shame of the Dred Scott and the Plessy versus Ferguson cases."

MRS. ROOSEVELT BECOMES LIFE MEMBER OF NAACP

May 20, 1954

NEW YORK, May 20.--Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt last week became a paid-in-full life member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mrs. Roosevelt previously had made an initial down payment on her $500 life membership in the Association.

Half of a thousand-dollar contribution from the New York Amsterdam News Welfare Fund will pay for a life membership for the fund. The check, presented today by Dr. C.B. Powell, president and editor of the paper, to Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, was in response to an appeal for funds to help implement the Supreme Court ruling banning public school segregation.

Another resident of the East, Bravell M. Nesbitt of Elizabeth, N.J., also became a life member of the Association.

In addition, four persons and three organizations made an initial payment on a life membership in the NAACP. They are: the Rev. O.D. Dempsey, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Dr. G.W. Hawkins, Miami, Fla.; Dr. Beverly V. Baranco, Jr., Baton Rouge, La.; George C. Gordon, Springfield, Mass.; Bondol Laboratories, Madison, Ark.; the Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of South Carolina; and the General State Baptist Association of Florida, Inc., in Miami.

A church, several union locals, a business firm, an individual, and eight NAACP branches last week contributed funds to the Association for its Fight for Freedom campaign. These, together with the life membership funds, amounted to a total of $3,452.45 for the week.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to wipe out all race segregation and discrimination in the U.S. by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

To join in the Fight for Freedom, Emanuel Baptist Church in Orange, Va., contributed $5.05. Local 1408 of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO in McKeesport, Pa., sent $20.00, and Local 1253 of the same union in Rankin, Pa., $10.00. Ten dollars also was received from Local 178 of the United Public Workers of America, CIO, in Topeka, Kans., and $5.00 from Local 121 of the same union in Fort Wayne, Ind.

The sum of $100 each was received from Dr. William B. Russell of Washington, D.C., and the Garden State Tanning Company, Inc., New York City.

NAACP branches which sent funds to aid the Fight for Freedom campaign on the national level were: Greenwich, Conn., $400.00; Halifax and Northampton Counties, N. C., $100.00; Johnstown, Pa., $100.00; Talladega College chapter, $51.28; Newberry, S.C., $50.00; Glencoe, Ill., $25.00; Yakima, Wash., $8.12; Estill, S.C., $15.00; and Cardale, Pa., $3.00.

SAFEGUARDS IN FEDERAL AID SCHOOL BILLS ARE PROMISED

May 20, 1954

WASHINGTON, May 20.--Following testimony today by Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Senator John Sherman Cooper, chairman of the Senate Sub-committee on Labor and Public Welfare, gave assurance that no education bill, on which testimony was being heard, would be reported out that did not have the proper safeguards in conformance with the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools.

Mr. Mitchell had pointed out that the bills being considered for federal aid in school construction recognized and supported segregation in the public schools. "In each of the bills before this sub-committee," he said, "there is a proviso stipulating conditions under which aid will be given in those states where separate schools are maintained for racial groups."

He proposed an amendment to any bill reported out requiring the several states to "certify that school facilities of the state are open to all children without regard to race in conformity with the requirements of the U.S. Supreme Court decision."

EDUCATION BOARDS TAKE STEPS TOWARD INTEGRATING SCHOOLS

May 20, 1954

NEW YORK, May 20.--At least two local school boards initiated steps towards integrating educational facilities within their respective jurisdictions within two days after the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its historic ruling banning racial segregation in public schools.

By a vote of 6 to 1, the Greensboro, N.C., board of education on May 18 ordered City School Superintendent Ben L. Smith to undertake of a study of "ways and means of complying with the court's decision." The following day, the District of Columbia board named a three-person committee to draft and submit a plan for integration at the next board meeting on May 25.

Meanwhile there were indications that St. Louis school officials were proceeding with plans to end segregation but were seeking a legal opinion as whether or not they would have to wait until/the October hearing before the Supreme Court.

NAACP ASKS CONGRESS TO PASS ANTI-JIM CROW TRAVEL BILL

May 20, 1954

WASHINGTON, May 20.--Two representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have urged the House Commerce Committee to report out favorably a bill to ban the segregation of the races in interstate travel. Their testimony, on May 13, was backed up by an Air Force officer who had been arrested and convicted in Florida because he defied the Jim Crow law while en route from Florida to Alabama in a bus.

Testifying on behalf of the NAACP were Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington Bureau, and Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel. Lieutenant Thomas Williams told of his experience last September. Following his arrest and conviction he was reprimanded by his superior officer and later dropped from the service.

Mr. Mitchell cited instances of discrimination and denial of accommodations for Negro passengers in reserved seat coaches on southern trains. He also told the committee members about the capricious treatment and intimidation of colored passengers by railroad conductors and bus drivers who at times resort to physical force to make travelers change seats. Military police and local law enforcement officers, he said, are often called to arrest Negroes demanding their right to sit where they please in interstate travel. Relatives of Negro servicemen stationed in the South have been humiliated and discomfited by Jim Crow regulations and practices of southern carriers, he charged.

Mr. Carter expressed the Association's view that segregation practices in interstate transportation "conflict with the obligations and duties of the carrier under existing law." Nevertheless, he said, the NAACP is urging enactment of the present bill to strengthen and clarify constitutional guarantees in interstate travel.

Citing the United States Supreme Court ruling in the Henderson case which banned discrimination against Negro passengers in dining cars, Mr. Carter said that "no regulation which restricts the use of facilities or accommodations on the basis of race or color is valid because under all such regulations there always exists the possibility that a particular Negro passenger will be denied the use of available accommodations. Under these circumstances we contend that the enforcement of racial segregation in interstate commerce is a violation of existing law for it is impossible to enforce racial segregation and avoid the possibility that an individual Negro passenger may be denied the use of available accommodations solely because of his color."

CALIFORNIA SUIT ATTACKS PRIVATE HOUSING JIM CROW

May 20, 1954

SACRAMENTO, Calif., May 20.--Exclusion of Negroes from private housing developed with the assistance of FHA-insured mortages has, possibly for the first time, been attacked in the state courts of California.

A suit filed in the Superior Court here on May 10 asks for a declaratory judgment and an injunction against the Sacramento Real Estate Board and 18 realty companies and individuals including 10 "John Does" all of which are accused of refusing to sell to Negroes any of the dwellings they have built with the aid of federal funds.

Damages in the amount of $5,000 are also asked for the plaintiff, Oliver A. Ming, who alleges that he was rejected solely because of his race and color when he sought to buy a house built and advertised for sale by the defendant firms.

The complaint was filed on behalf of Mr. Ming by Loren Miller of Los Angeles, Franklin H. Williams of San Francisco and Nathaniel S. Colley of Sacramento, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people.

In his complaint, Mr. Ming charges that, although the realty companies had signed an agreement with the Federal Housing Administration not to encumber the property with restrictive covenants, "they harbored a secret and fraudulent intent to refuse forever to sell any of their housing to Negroes."

SEES SCHOOL DECISION IMPLEMENTED IN "BROTHERHOOD AND UNDERSTANDING"

May 20, 1954

CHARLESTON, S.C., May 20.--An NAACP official expressed confidence here this week that Negro and white citizens of the South will "get together" on the basis of the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation and "jointly formulate plans" to implement the decision in their own communities.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington bureau, declared that with the school decision "the U.S. Supreme Court has brought the nation to the border of freedom's promised land," and predicted that "the people of our country will cross over in the spirit of brotherhood and understanding."

UNEMPLOYMENT SURVEY ASKED BY NAACP REGIONAL OFFICE

May 20, 1954

SAN FRANCISCO, May 20.--The NAACP's regional office here has requested its 90 branches in seven Western states to conduct a survey of the extent of Negro unemployment in their areas.

In making the request, Franklin H. Williams, NAACP regional secretary-counsel, noted that "in many places throughout the West, Negroes are being laid off in disproportionate numbers, obviously as a result of racial discrimination."

He said the problem of Negro unemployment discrimination is particularly acute at several federal government installations in Northern California, where a "pattern of discrimination" in laying off Negro workers "has reached serious proportions."

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET | NEW YORK 18, N. Y | LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE, *EXECUTIVE SECRETARY*
ROY WILKINS, *ADMINISTRATOR*
HENRY LEE MOON, *DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS*

FOR RELEASE: MAY 27,1954

NAACP HAILS BUNCHE AS SYMBOL OF AMERICANISM

May 27, 1954

NEW YORK, May 27.-- "Swift and unequivocal action to end" the loyalty investigation of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division, has been urged by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The famed diplomat, winner of the Nobel peace prize and member of the NAACP Board of Directors, has been questioned intensively by the International Organizations' Employes Loyalty Board on officially undisclosed charges. However, Pierce J. Gerety, chairman of the Loyalty Board, said that "no inference should be drawn from the fact" that Dr. Bunche had appeared before the board.

In his statement, made public here on May 26, Mr. White praised Dr. Bunche not only as "a great and distinguished American but a great and distinguished citizen of the world whose entire career has been dedicated to the preservation and enlargement of human liberty."

Citing his own steadfast opposition to Communism, the NAACP spokesman declared: "I gladly stake whatever reputation I may possess on Dr. Bunche's unqualified loyalty and integrity." In his extensive travels Mr. White said he had learned that the UN diplomat is regarded as "one of the truly great symbols of Americanism at its best ... particularly among the two-thirds of the peoples of the world who are nonwhite."

Because of Dr. Bunche's example, the NAACP secretary asserted, peoples in Asia and Africa and elsewhere "have been encouraged to refuse to follow Communist propaganda and to continue to have faith in democracy."

Mr. White called the investigation an "unseemly farce."

SUPREME COURT CLEARS DOCKET OF NAACP SEGREGATION CASES

May 27, 1954

NEW YORK, May 27.--The docket of NAACP segregation cases before the United States Supreme Court has been cleared, Thurgood Marshall, the Association's special counsel, declared this week following the Court's actions in six cases involving educational institutions, a public housing project and public recreational facilities.

"While by its actions on May 24 in these cases," Mr. Marshall said, "the Supreme Court postpones specific extension of the May 17 ruling to areas other than elementary and secondary education, it laid the basis for future decisions on the issue of segregation in tax-supported undergraduate colleges and publicly-financed housing projects and recreational facilities either in the lower courts or on appeal."

The Court refused to review a decision of the California District Court of Appeals which ordered the San Francisco Housing Authority to admit qualified Negro applicants to projects from which they had been excluded solely because of race and color. Accordingly, the ruling of the California court stands.

The Court also refused to review lower court decisions affirming the right of a Negro to use the municipal golf course in Houston, Texas, and another ordering Midwestern University in Wichita Falls, Texas, to admit six Negro applicants.

Three other cases were remanded to lower courts for reconsideration "in the light of the segregation cases decided May 17." One involved the admission of Negro students to the University of Florida. The State Supreme Court rejected an appeal on the ground that inequality of facilities available to Negro students had not been proved.

The second was the case of Alexander P. Tureaud, Jr., of New Orleans who had been admitted on court order to the undergraduate college of Louisiana State University and later dropped when the Court of Appeals set aside the lower court's order on a technicality.

The third case remanded to the lower court involved the right of James Muir, to admission to a privately operated amphitheatre, located in a Louisville, Ky., public park reserved for white persons. The Federal District Court dismissed Mr. Muir's complaint on the ground that the amphitheatre, although owned by the city, was run by a private corporation not subject to the Fourteenth Amendment.

BRANCHES, OTHERS GIVE TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM FUND

May 27, 1954

NEW YORK, May 27.--Contributions of local and state units of the National Association for the Advancment of Colored People to the Fight for Freedom Fund amounted to $1,119.50 this week with the Central Long Island, N.Y., branch leading the list with a gift of $500. Total contributions from all sources amounted to $3,004.50.

Other contributions from NAACP groups included the Florida State Conference, $200; North Carolina State Conference, $167.50; Battle Creek, Mich., $125; Corona, N.Y., $50; Brooklyn College, $40; Coatesville, Pa., $25; and Agua Fria, Ariz., $12.

Life membership payments were received from seven persons including the Rev. Samuel N. McCain, Jr., of Hawaii and Mrs. Wilbur Halyard, Milwaukee, each of whom made the full payment of $500. In addition, initial payments were made by Dr. R. Stewart Randall of Washington; Miss Golda Krolik, Detroit; James Harvey, Jersey City, N.J., the Mississippi Dental Society and the Pharmaceutical Association of Mississippi.

Other contributions included $100 each from Dr. W. Montague Cobb, Washington; Tenth Episcopal District, AME Zion Church, Washington; and Les Seize Club, Inc., New York. An additional $100 was contributed anonymously. Dr. E. H. Washington of Jacksonville, Fla., sent in $50 as did Offset Programs, Inc., New York.

The Memo Charity Club of Omaha, Neb., gave $25.

"THRILLED" BY COURT'S DECISION, POWELLS PLAN LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

May 27, 1954

NEW YORK, May 27.--Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has written the NAACP that he is "so thrilled over the great decision" banning public school segregation that he, his wife, the concert pianist Hazel Scott, and their son are going to take out $500 life memberships in the Association.

Congratulatory messages continued to come into the Association's national office. Among those received this week were communications from W. Averell Harriman, onetime candidate for Democratic nomination for the Presidency; G. James Fleming, radio commentator; John Gunther, famed author; Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, president, National Council of Negro Women; Bishop W. J. Walls, AME Zion Church; and George Klaff, Samuel Goldwyn Productions, Hollywood.

Others to send in felicitations included Peter Siskind; George Newcomb; Miss Grace E. Marr, American Nurses' Association; Kenneth Kleinman, Fresh Meadows, N.Y.; Miss Edith Lowenstein, Common Council for American Unity; Prof. S. R. Williams, chairman, The Harlem Round Table Association.

Also Morris Milgram, executive vice president, Concord Park Homes, Inc.,Trevose, Pa.; Thaddeus Banks, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rev. George Lawrence, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Dayton, Ohio; Community Service Organization of Monterey County, Salinas, Calif.; Dr. George Rubin, Hicksville, N.Y.; Rev. Donald Harrington, pastor, The Community Church of New York, Rev. Marvin T. Robinson, Providence Baptist Church, Rockford, Ill.; Mrs. Annie D. Horton, president, Manuel Training School, Bordentown, N.J.

Also Crew 22, District 65, New York; Mrs. Howard Vandunk, president, Hillburn NAACP branch, Suffern, N.Y.; Esor Ben-Sorek, president, Kappa Phi Kappa Professional Teachers Fraternity, New York; Theodore Hawes, president, Chicago Chapter of Frontier of America, Chicago, and 20 wires were received from employees of the Revlon Shop District 65, members of the Distributive, Processing Office Workers of America, CIO, New York.

NASHVILLE CITY COUNCIL BANS AIRPORT JIM CROW

May 27, 1954

NASHVILLE, May 27.--The Mayor and Council of this mid-Tennessee city are now on record as not condoning "any form of operational policy of discrimination and segregation against passengers or patrons at the Nashville Municipal Airport."

The resolution, introduced by Z. Alexander Looby, one of two Negro members of the Council, further stated that "the City of Nashville in leasing the premises did not intend that any form of discrimination or segregation" be used by Sky Chef restaurant which has a concession at the airport. "Such acts are against the expressed desires, wishes and will of the Mayor and Council," the resolution said.

Sky Chef abandoned its discriminatory policy in the operation of its restaurant at the Knoxville Airport after the Council had voted against such a policy. The company is expected to comply with the Nashville resolution.

JIM CROW SCHOOLS ENDED
IN PANAMA CANAL ZONE

May 27, 1954

WASHINGTON, May 27.--All segregation in schools operating in the Canal Zone will be ended in September, the Washington Bureau of the NAACP has been informed.

The government action to end present policies of excluding colored children was the subject of a complaint submitted last February to the Department of the Army by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

At that time, the NAACP pointed out that the existing segregation in the Canal Zone schools was contrary to policies established by President Eisenhower.

Robert D. King, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army, has now advised the Association that "effective at the beginning of the next semester, all U. S. citizens who reside in the Canal Zone and who are in the service of the United States Government will be admitted to any school operated by the Canal Zone Government. This is irrespective of race, creed or color."

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NEWS FROM
NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: AFTER 3 P.M. SUNDAY, JUNE 13, 1954

NAACP PETITIONS NEITHER THREATEN NOR BEG--WHITE

June 13, 1954

DURHAM, N.C., June 13.--In petitioning local school boards to take immediate steps to abolish racial segregation in the schools under their jurisdiction, the local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are neither threatening nor begging, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, said here today at a mass meeting concluding a weekend conference of NAACP leaders in North Carolina.

He cited the Atlanta Declaration adopted by southern leaders of the Association at a meeting in Atlanta, May 22-23, which instructed the branches "in every affected area to petition their local school boards to abolish segregation without delay and to assist these agencies in working out ways and means of implementing the Court's ruling."

The NAACP spokesman recalled that when the Declaration was adopted, "Thurgood Marshall, our special counsel, made it clear that in each instance the petition to the school board would be accompanied by a letter from the branch requesting a conference with the board to discuss plans for meeting the court's decision as speedily as possible.

"The petition," Mr. White asserted, "is not a threat, nor the letter a supplication. Jointly they express our desire to cooperate with the school authorities in ending segregation and our determination that there shall be no filibustering in achieving that goal."

Applauding the action already taken in some communities to comply with the Court's ruling, the NAACP secretary told the North Carolina audience: "We know from experience that schools can be successfully and expeditiously integrated. It has been done in Arizona, southern Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey and Delaware. It can be done, in North Carolina, in South Carolina, in Georgia, in Mississippi and, indeed, wherever the American flag flies."

SCHOOL BOARD PETITIONS READY FOR NAACP UNITS

June 10, 1954

NEW YORK, June 10.--Local school boards in the southern and border states will soon be receiving petitions from local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calling upon them "to take immediate steps to reorganize the public schools under [their] jurisdiction in accordance with the constitutional principles enunciated by the Supreme Court on May 17."

The petition was drafted by the Association's legal department upon request of the conference of southern leaders of the organization in Atlanta, May 22-23. The conference instructed NAACP branches "in every affected area to petition their local school boards to abolish segregation without delay and to assist these agencies in working out ways and means of implementing the Court's ruling."

In a letter to the branches, Thurgood Marshall, the Association's special counsel, urged that signatures to the petition be secured immediately and that a covering letter be sent to the school board with the petition asking for a conference for the purpose of discussing and developing plans for integrating the school system.

The petition, to be signed by parents of children attending public school, cites the Court's decision and reminds the school board that under that ruling public school children "cannot be denied admission to any school or be required to attend any school solely because of race and color."

The petitioners point out their "availability as parents and citizens of this community to be of whatever assistance we can to you in devising and implementing a program of desegregation in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision." They further requested that the president of the local NAACP branch be invited to attend the hearing on the petition.

HALT PROPOSED BIAS AMENDMENT NOW, MITCHELL URGES CONGRESS

June 10, 1954

WASHINGTON, June 10.--Members of the House and Senate Judiciary committees have been urged by the NAACP to vote against Mississippi inspired resolutions designed to set aside the U.S. Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation.

Senator James Eastland and Congressman John Bell Williams, both of Mississippi, have introduced S.J. Res. 159 and H.J. Res. 532, respectively. These resolutions ask Congress to approve a constitutional amendment which, if ratified by the States, would destroy the Court's jurisdiction in matters of racial segregation. Both resolutions were referred to the judiciary committees.

In expressing the Association's opposition to the proposals, Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau, said it is impossible to believe that the House or Senate would approve the resolutions.

However, he urged that if the resolutions come to a vote members should not only vote against them but also go on record in support of the Supreme Court ruling.

"For the vast majority of Americans," Mr. Mitchell said, "these decisions represent the highest ideals embodied in the Constitution. We are certain that members of the Congress appreciate the tremendous amount of goodwill created by the decisions in the U.S. and the world at large."

GEORGIA COMMISSION IGNORES NAACP DESEGREGATION OFFER

June 10, 1954

ATLANTA, June 10.--The Georgia Commission on Education, set up to formulate plans for public school legislation, ignored a request of the Georgia State NAACP for an opportunity to appear before the Commission for the purpose of submitting the Association's plan to implement the Supreme Court's decision of May 17 banning segregation in the public schools.

The Commission met on June 9 and received plans for continuing segregation submitted by the gubernatorial candidates. The NAACP sought the opportunity to place before the Commission a plan ending segregation.

In a letter addressed to Durwood T. Pye, Commission secretary, Dr. William M. Boyd, president of the Georgia State NAACP, offered the aid of the Association "in good faith and on a basis of equality" in working out with the Commission ways and means of complying with the Court's ruling.

CITIZENSHIP SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDED FOUR NAACP YOUTHS

June 10, 1954

NEW YORK, June 10.--Four members of the youth units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have been awarded scholarships valued at $350 each for a six-week course at the Encampment for Citizenship, a project sponsored by the American Ethical Culture Society.

The young persons, selected by the Association's committee on branches and youth work, are Miss Barbara Nichols and Burghardt Edwards, both of San Antonio, Texas, youth council; Miss Gene Gray, Newberry, S.C.; and Thurman Sanders, Jr., Savannah, Ga.

COURT RULING WAS H-BOMB, AMERICAN ABROAD WRITES

June 10, 1954

NEW YORK, June 10.--From an American in Liberia this week came felicitations to the NAACP on the Supreme Court decision of May 17 banning racial segregation in public schools.

In a letter addressed to Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Griffith J. Davis, now on assignment to the West African Republic, said, "the impact of the Supreme Court's decision...was certainly an H-bomb in public relations for the United States abroad. Here in rather isolated Liberia I was surprised and proud to have Liberians stop me on the street and personally congratulate me on 'your' victory in Washington. If this was only an inkling of the worldwide reaction in more sensitive and alert areas of Africa and Asia, then the initial impact must have been tremendous."

Others from whom congratulations have been recently received include Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago attorney and member of the Association's Board of Directors; Ray W. Guild, Boston lawyer; Miss Elizabeth H. Smith, Racine, Wis.; Miss Zora C. Helm, president, NAACP youth council, Canton, Ohio; Lieutenant George W. Lee, grand commissioner of education of the Elks; George H. Walton, Camden, N.J.; Fleming R. Waller, former president of the NAACP branch in Honolulu; Miss Imogene Smith, Galesburg, Ill.; R.L. Albright, R.B. Moody and John A. Boston, New York City; and the committee on economic and social relations of the Mount Zion Methodist Church, New Orleans.

TEXAS NAACP SEEKS AID OF PRINCE HALL MASONS

June 10, 1954

HOUSTON, Texas, June 10.--The 619 Masonic lodges in Texas have been urged to contribute one dollar for each of their members to the Fight for Freedom Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In a letter addressed to the lodges throughout the state, Mrs. Lulu B. White, NAACP state director of branches, cited the endorsement of the campaign by L.L. Lockhart, Grand Master of the Texas jurisdiction of the Prince Hall affiliate Masonic lodges. Mr. Lockhart is a member of the state committee of the Texas NAACP conference.

Mrs. White pointed to the example set in Georgia where the Masons, under the leadership of Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs, have contributed generously to the NAACP in that state.

SON OF POTENTATE AGA KAHN IS NEW NAACP LIFE MEMBER

June 10, 1954

NEW YORK, June 10.--The Fight for Freedom Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was augmented this week by two handsome gifts -- a bequest of $7,745.40 from the estate of the late Constantine Ragosine of New Jersey, and $1,000 from Sadruddin Aga Kahn, the Harvard student son of the famed potentate, Aga Kahn.

Additional contributions brought the week's total to $9,890.40. Half of the thousand-dollar gift goes to purchase a life membership and the other to the general funds of the Association. Initial payments on life memberships were made by Mrs. Poppy Cannon White and Miss Olivia Stanford, both of New York and the Clio Art Club of Kansas City, Mo.

Other contributions include $100 each from Mrs. J.E. Spingarn of New York City; Alfred J. Friedlander, Cincinnati; Walter Lageman, Greenwich, Conn.; Charles E. Ozanne, Durham, N.C.; and the Committee of Management of the G.U.O. of Odd Fellows, Philadelphia. Fifty dollar contributions were received from Elmer Rice, Stamford, Conn.; Judge Harold A. Stevens, New York City; Samuel Merrick, Alexandria, Va.; and Mrs. D.N. Heineman, Greenwich, Conn.

NAACP units contributed a total of $185 as follows: Oberlin College, $60; Ogden, Utah, youth council, $50; Lackawanna, N.Y., $50; and Hampton Institute, $25. A Pittsburgh local of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, sent in $10.

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PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
107 WEST 43 STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
President
WALTER WHITE
Secretary
ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
Treasurer

THURGOOD MARSHALL
Director and Counsel
ROBERT L. CARTER
Assistant Counsel
ARNOLD DE MILLE
Press Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: June 18, 1954

NAACP SEEKS END OF GRAND RAPIDS SCHOOLS'BIAS

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH. - An appeal seeking to prevent the Grand Rapids Board of Education from continuing its practice of maintaining segregation in public schools and the discriminatory practices in the assignments of Negro teachers was filed last week by NAACP Legal Defense attorneys with the Michigan State Department of Public Instruction.

The appeal was filed in behalf of Negro children, their parents and the Grand Rapids branch of the NAACP.

It followed the refusal of the Grand Rapids Board of Education and the Superintendent of schools to act on a petition filed by the parents of the Negro students and the NAACP branch.

The petition requested the school board to adopt a citizens' recommended plan which would integrate the predominantly Negro schools.

Legal Defense attorneys ask the State Department of Instruction to direct the local school board to (a) correct the school zone lines so that more white children would attend the now predominantly Negro schools and (b) assign Negro teachers throughout the public school system.

The committee which made the recommendation to eliminate the city's present segregation and discriminatory practices in the schools was composed of leading Negro and white citizens. It was appointed at the suggestion of the Superintendent of schools.

In its report to the Board of Education, the committee concluded that segregation is harmful to Negro children.

NAACP Legal Defense attorneys for the Negro children are Thurgood Marshall and Constance Baker Motley, both of New York, and Alphonse Lewis, Jr. and Floyd H. Skinner of Grand Rapids.

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
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LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: June 17, 1954

NKRUMAH'S VICTORY HAILED BY NAACP

June 17, 1954

NEW YORK, June 17.--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today hailed the victory of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah in the elections which established the Gold Coast as the first self-governing colony in West Africa.

In a cablegram to the African leader, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, congratulated him upon his victory and acclaimed the "pioneer role of [his] country as leader of the democratic forces in colonial Africa." The success of Mr. Nkrumah's administration, the message said, "will inspire other colonial peoples to redouble their efforts for self-rule."

Leader of the victorious Convention Peoples party, Mr. Nkrumah has already served as Prime Minister of his country but until this election he was not free to select all of his ministers, certain posts being reserved for Englishmen named by the Governor. This election empowers the Prime Minister to select all of his cabinet ministers.

NAACP PAMPHLET REPORTS ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

June 17, 1954

NEW YORK, June 17.--The story of the success of many communities in desegregating their public schools is told in a 32-page pamphlet, "Segregation and the Schools," published today jointly by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Public Affairs Committee.

The pamphlet summarizes the Ashmore report, "The Negro and the Schools," and was prepared by two of the South's leading educators, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, and Dr. Frank Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Studies of some 25 communities which had made or were making the transition from segregated to integrated schools revealed that the process "wasn't as bad as they thought it would be," the pamphlet asserts.

The pamphlet sells at 25¢ and is available at the national office of the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y. and at the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N.Y.

TWELVE JOIN NAACP AS LIFE MEMBERS

June 17, 1954

NEW YORK, June 17.--Eleven persons and a club last week made initial or full payments on life memberships in the NAACP. In addition, eight individuals, two organizations, a labor union, and four local units of the NAACP contributed funds to the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign.

The Fight for Freedom campaign aims to free America from race discrimination and segregation by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

William Sherrill of New York City and George A. Beavers of Los Angeles paid $500 each to become life members of the Association. Kelly Alexander, Charlotte, N.C., president of North Carolina state conference and member of the NAACP board of directors, made the final payment on his life membership.

Initial payments on life memberships were received from: Dr. Joseph A. Berry, Tuskegee, Ala.; Dr. Myra Logan, New York City; Mrs. Rosemarie Gaines, New York City; the Bower Bridge Club, Inc., New York City; and George G. Smith, W.L. Stevens, P.J. Taylor, Paul R. Williams, Lowell C. Moore, the Rev. Arthur A. Peters, the Rev. E.A. Anderson, and Alfred Bloomingdale, all of Los Angeles.

Individuals and organizations who contributed funds to the Fight for Freedom were: the Student Body Government of the University of Florida, Coral Gables, Fla., $150.00; the Metropolitan Funeral System Association, Detroit, $100.00; Mrs. L.K. Anspacher, Purchase, N.Y., $50.00; Mrs. Richard J. Bernhard, New York City, $50.00; Miss Elizabeth Mullins, Cincinnati, Ohio, $25.00.

Miss Sarah B. Chisholm, Brooklyn, N.Y., $10.00; Thomas B. Dyett, New York City, $9.50; Miss Betty B. Ames, Cincinnati, Ohio, $5.00; the Louisville Plumbers and Gas Fitters Union, Local 107, Louisville, Ky., $5.00; Miss Mary Frances Bohm, Cincinnati, Ohio, $2.00; and Mitchell A. Greene, New Orleans, La., $1.00.

NAACP local units contributed funds as follows: San Antonio, Tex., youth council, $150.00; Three Rivers, Mich., $100.00; Far Rockaway, N.Y., $25.00; and Alton, Ill., $1.05.

The total received for the week was $2,763.00.

MEDICAL JOURNAL ASKS M.D.'S TO CONTRIBUTE FUNDS TO NAACP

June 17, 1954

NEW YORK, June 17.--Taking a cue from the American Medical Association, which a few years ago levied a tax on its members to fight national health insurance, the official journal of the National Medical Association is asking its members to voluntarily contribute funds to fight race discrimination in medical facilities and care.

An editorial in the current issue of the Journal, published here, calls on the approximately 41,000 members of the National Medical Association to contribute $100 each to the Fight for Freedom campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to eliminate all racial discrimination and segregation in America by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Dr. W. Montague Cobb of Washington, D.C., chairman of the national health committee of the NAACP, is editor of the NMA Journal.

ALABAMA CHURCHMAN TO BE FETED FOR HIS CIVIL RIGHTS WORK

June 17, 1954

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 17.--A church dignitary who has been a leader in the NAACP will be honored here this month for his civil rights work by representatives from church and NAACP groups throughout the state.

Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, a presiding bishop of the AME Zion Church, will be guest of honor on "Spottswood Day," June 27, an event sponsored by the state NAACP.

The occasion will serve as a focal point for a fund-raising effort to secure $10,000 to aid the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to level all race barriers in the U.S. by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

According to Mrs. Beulah C. Johnson of Tuskegee Institute, chairman of "Spottswood Day," the Bishop will be feted for "long service rendered to the people of America through his active NAACP work."

For many years president of the Washington, D.C., unit of the NAACP, Bishop Spottswood also served as an NAACP regional church committee chairman and as a member of the national church committee of the Association.

NO INTENTIONAL DISCRIMINATION, STEAMSHIP LINE ASSURES NAACP

June 17, 1954

NEW YORK, June, 17.--Apologizing for the segregation of a Negro passenger in the dining room of the S.S. Queen of Bermuda, J.J. Walsh, local director of Furness, Withy & Co., owners of the liner, has assured the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that "there was no intention of discrimination."

Upon complaint of Mrs. M. Josephine Wooten, New York school teacher, Mr. White wrote to the steamship company. On a trip to Bermuda last summer, Mrs. Wooten charges that she was set apart from other passengers and assigned to a table alone in the dining room.

Mr. Walsh assured the NAACP executive that "it is not our policy to discriminate against anyone due to race, color or creed." Employees of the company are, he said, "instructed to be as tactful as possible but it might appear that in this instance there was a slipup and we are sorry that the party in question was displeased."

LUNCHEON PAYS TRIBUTE TO CLEVELAND NAACP OFFICIAL

June 17, 1954

CLEVELAND, June 17.--Nearly 500 persons gathered at a luncheon here last week to pay tribute to Charles P. Lucas, who recently resigned as executive secretary of the local NAACP branch.

The luncheon, sponsored by a representative Cleveland Citizens Committee formed for the event, was the occasion for an address by City Councilman Theodore M. Berry of Cincinnati on the civil rights work of the NAACP. Mr. Berry is a member of the Association's board of directors.

Mr. Lucas, who resigned his NAACP post to enter private industry, administered the Association's branch here for 9 years. Gerard A. Anderson, Mr. Lucas' assistant, is acting secretary, pending the appointment of a successor.

NEGROES IN TEXAS URGED TO ENROLL IN STATE'S PUBLIC JUNIOR COLLEGES

June 17, 1954

DALLAS, Tex., June 17.--Texas branches of the NAACP are being urged by the Association's regional office here to remind Negro high school graduates that they now are legally entitled to attend publicly supported junior colleges in this state

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A memorandum sent recently by U.Simpson Tate, NAACP regional counsel for the the Southwest area, to the branches cited the May 24 Supreme Court decision which, it said, held that "all graduates of an accredited high school in Texas may attend any and all of the publicly supported junior colleges in this state."

The memorandum particularly urged branches in communities where a publicly supported junior college exists to "exert a strong effort to get qualified high school graduates to make application and attend these fine institutions."

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET | NEW YORK 18, N. Y. | LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: July 15, 1954

ATTORNEY GENERAL BROWNELL URGED TO PROSECUTE TRUMBULL PARK MOB

July 15, 1954

WASHINGTON, July 15.-- Attorney General Herbert Brownell has been urged to make a thorough investigation of the race-hate inspired violence at Trumbull Park Homes in Chicago and to prosecute vigorously those responsible for such incidents.

This proposal was placed before the attorney general on July 14 in a conference here with Walter White and Clarence Mitchell, executive secretary and director of the Washington Bureau, respectively, of the National Association for the Advancment of Colored People. Mr. Brownell promised to make such an investigation.

For a year now police have been maintained on a 24-hour vigil to protect Negro families who moved into the previously all-white Trumbull Park Homes, a federally owned public housing project. Violence has flared repeatedly and damage has been done to the government owned property by hoodlums who gather nightly in the environs of the project.

Despite frequent urgings by the Chicago branch and the national office of the NAACP neither the city authorities nor the federal government has taken any effective punitive action against the mobsters, many of whom do not live in the project.

The NAACP spokesmen called Mr. Brownell's attention to the federal statute which provides penalties for the destruction of government owned property. Persons convicted under this law may be fined $10,000 and sentenced to 10 years in prison. The attorney general was asked to invoke this law against the instigators of mob violence in the Chicago area.

Warning that if the Trumbull Park affair gets out of hand it may develop into another Cicero riot, Mr. White told the attorney general that this situation is "only a part of a larger housing problem which has been aggravated by the policy of such government agencies as the

Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans Administration, the Public Housing Authority and the slum clearance program which continue to give federal assistance to housing planned for the exclusive use of one race."

The NAACP leader cited Levittown in Long Island and in Pennsylvania as examples of lily-white communities built with mortgage money insured by the FHA. The attorney general was also told of unavailing efforts last year by the NAACP to secure from Albert Cole, Housing and Home Finance Administrator, a firm commitment to initiate a policy of no government assistance for segregated housing.

MISSISSIPPI SOCIAL ACTION MEET TO CHART COURSE OF PROGRESS FOR STATE

July 15, 1954

JACKSON, MISS., July 15: -- Leaders in the fields of civil rights, labor and religion are among persons who will meet here July 25 to chart a course for social progress in the state of Mississippi, it was announced this week by Dr. E. J. Stringer, president of the Mississippi state conference of NAACP branches.

Dr. Stringer said the Jackson NAACP branch will serve as host to the gathering, which will include also representatives of fraternal, social, educational, business and professional organizations in the state.

He noted that the purpose of the state-wide meeting is to "collectively develop a program to meet some of the vital and urgent issues that now exist in the State of Mississippi."

He predicted that high on the meeting agenda, to be drawn up as the first order of business, will be the matter of desegregating the public schools of Mississippi in accord with the Supreme Court decision which held segregated public schools to be unconstitutional.

HEARINGS ON JIM CROW TRANSPORTATION CASE TO BE HELD BY ICC THIS MONTH

July 15, 1954

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15: -- Hearings on a comprehensive case concerned with compulsory segregation in interstate transportation will be held by the Interstate Commerce Commission here on July 27.

The case, brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, deals with segregation of interstate passengers by railroads, railroad stations, and restaurants in railroad stations.

The NAACP filed the complaint with the ICC on Dec. 14 past, asking that "after due hearing and investigation, an order be issued commanding" the railroad companies named in the case "to cease their discriminatory practices against Negro passengers in violation of their constitutional rights."

The railroads against which the complaint is filed are the St. Louis- San Francisco, Louisville and Nashville, Southern, Santa Fe, Texas and Pacific, Atlantic Coast Line, Missouri Pacific, Seaboard Air Line, Kansas City Southern, Illinois Central, and the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio.

The complaint was filed on behalf of the NAACP, as an organization, and of 16 Negroes and one white person. The NAACP case states that the segregation imposed upon these passengers was in violation of the provisions of Article I of the U.S. Constitutinn, the Interstate Commerce Act, and the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments. Robert L. Carter, NAACP assistant special counsel, will represent the complainant before the Commission.

NAACP BRANCHES GIVE TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM FUND

July 15, 1954

NEW YORK, July 15.-- A total of $517 was received this week for the NAACP Fight for Freedom Fund. Of this sum, $327 was contributed by a state conference and local units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as follows:

North Carolina State Conference of branches, $10; New Bern, N.C., $150; St. Charles Parish, La., $100; Mt. Holly, S.C., $40; Three Rivers, Mich, $21, and Pompano, Fla., youth council, $6.

Initial payments on life memberships were made by James A. Michener of Doyleston, Pa., and the Junior Leaguers, Inc., of Newark, N. J. Miss Minna Goosman of New York City sent in a contribution of $15. An additional $25 was received from a local of the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, in Reserve, La.

EDITORIAL OF THE WEEK

St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, July 8, 1954

"NEW DODGE IN LOUISIANA"

"The Louisiana Legislature's plan for evading the United States Supreme Court decision on school segregation is as transparent a fraud as its predecessors in South Carolina and Virginia. The dodge which has been hit upon at Baton Rouge is to submit to the voters an amendment to the State Constitution declaring segregation essential to health and morals and therefore subject to the State's inherent police powers.

"One of the earliest ruses of the sort was South Carolina's adoption, two years ago, of an amendment removing from the State Constitution the requirement that a public school system must be maintained. Its unrealism was recognized in South Carolina even at the time, and now, in token of it, Lt. Gov. Timmerman has proposed an alternative that is in some ways still more fanciful.

"He would have the State establish a system of integrated schools with the proviso that a second system of segregated schools would be set up in any county or school district where a representative proportion of citizens of either race petitioned it. Despite this official admission that the constitutional amendment was an empty gesture, Gov. Stanley of Virginia has proposed that his state copy South Carolina's constitutional amendment.

"Clearly it will take legal action, applied at one local point after another, to make the United States Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, effective in those areas which mean to evade it if they can. The National Association for the Advancment of Colored People has promised to supply that legal action wherever it is required. Time, money and patience may be required, but it is unlikely that even the most persistent die-hard entertains any longer a real doubt of the outcome."

NEWS FROM
NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: JULY 22, 1954

HOUSE UNIT APPROVES BILL TO BAN JIM CROW TRAVEL

July 22, 1954

WASHINGTON, July 22.-- The NAACP-sponsored bill to ban segregation in all interstate public transport moved a step forward this week as the House Commerce Committee approved it by a vote of 19-7.

The bill, which was approved at a closed session of the committee on July 21, now goes to the House Rules Committee where its fate is uncertain because of the conservative character of the committee and also because of the prospect of adjournment by July 31. No action has yet been taken on the bill in the Senate.

Under terms of the House bill, introduced by Representative John W. Hesselton, (R.,Mass.), Jim Crow practices in interstate bus, train, ship or other public transport would be banned. The measure would impose a fine of $1,000 on any transport company or agent for violation of the statute.

Testifying in behalf of the bill before the House Commerce Committee on May 12, Clarence Mitchell, director, NAACP Washington Bureau, and Robert L. Carter, NAACP assistant special counsel, cited instances of discrimination and denial of accommodations to Negro passengers in reserved seat coaches and told of the capricious treatment accorded colored travelers by railroad conductors and bus drivers who sometimes resort to violence in order to enforce Jim Crow regulations. Moreover, they pointed out, the Supreme Court had, in a series of decisions, in effect invalidated Jim Crow laws and practices in interstate travel.

Meanwhile, the NAACP had filed a comprehensive complaint with the Interstate Commerce Commission against 11 railroad companies, a railroad station and a restaurant in the station. Hearings on this complaint have been set for July 27.

TEXAS STATE NAACP DENIES POLITICAL PARTISANSHIP

July 22, 1954

DALLAS, July 22.-- Irked by politically-inspired charges that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is backing certain candidates for public office in Texas, officers of the State Conference of NAACP branches have issued a sharp denial.

These charges were branded by the NAACP leaders as an attempt "to persuade and induce the public to believe that the NAACP has endorsed and given financial support to certain candidates for public office and further that our organization is linked to or in legion with certain 'left-wing' forces in this state for the purpose of asserting and exerting an unwholesome and unsavory influence upon the course of political events in this state."

Rejecting these charges, the NAACP statement declared: "The Texas state conference of branches of NAACP and each of its affiliated branches are specifically enjoined by the highest policy-making body of our organization from either endorsing or making any financial contribution to the campaign of any candidate for public office ..."

The message said the NAACP national annual convention is the "supreme policy-making body" of the organization. This convention, it noted, "has each year reasserted our stand against partisan political action" and again took such a stand on July 3 in Dallas.

The statement was signed by the following officials of the NAACP Texas organization: Dr. H. Boyd Hall, Corpus Christi, president; John Jay Jones, Texarkana, chairman of the executive committee; W.J. Durham, Dallas, chairman of the legal committee; and U. Simpson Tate, Dallas, special counsel for the Southwest region of the NAACP.

Gubernatorial and congressional campaigns are currently underway in Texas, as well as a number of campaigns for state and local political offices.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FOR FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

July 22, 1954

NEW YORK, July 22.-- Contributions to the NAACP Fight for Freedom fund totaling $1,267.23 were received by the national office this week. This sum is in addition to the $26,850 in life memberships the Links, Inc., presented at the organization's sixth annual Assembly in

Bluefield, W.Va.

Three branches sent in contributions as follows: Norwalk, Conn., $228.06; Meadville, Pa., $50; and Chesterfield County, Va., $24.27.

There was a gift of $500 from the J.M. Kaplan Fund of New York City and another of $300 from Pitney-Bowes of Stamford, Conn. Other contributions included $50 each from Mrs. Anne Hollenbeck of New York City and Allan H. Gilbert, Durham, N.C.; $44.90 from the children of the Congregation Adas Emuno, Hoboken, N.J.; and $20 from George Shearing of New York City.

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DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: AUGUST 5, 1954

MISSISSIPPI NEGROES REJECT "VOLUNTARY" JIM CROW PLAN

August 5, 1954

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 5.--The oft-repeated allegation that Negroes prefer Jim Crow exploded in the face of Mississippi politicans when 99 of 100 Negro leaders, in a meeting here with the state's official Legal Educational Advisory Committee, flatly turned down a proposal, advanced by Gov. Hugh White, for a "voluntary" Jim Crow system of public school education.

The Negro leaders, summoned to the state's first official inter-racial conference by the Governor, rejected the plan by which many white southerners hope to circumvent the Supreme Court decision of May 17 banning public school segregation. In a prepared statement they declared that "for sake of our posterity we cannot do otherwise than take our stand for the ideals of our America and the whole free world -- for justice, human brotherhood and equality of opportunity for all."

Gov. White, as reported by the Memphis Commercial Appeal said: "I am stunned!" He had previously expressed confidence that 95 percent of the Negroes would go along with a "voluntary" segregation plan provided funds were immediately made available to equalize educational facilities.

"Completely shaken" by the rejection of his plan, Gov White is reported to have said: "I have believed that a certain element representing a vast majority of the Negroes would go along. Now I am definitely of the conclusion you can't put any faith in any one of them on this proposition."

The conference on July 30 with the Legal Educational Advisory Committee set up by an act of the Legislature was preceded by a meeting of Negro leaders on July 25 called by the State Conference of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

They issued a statement in support of the court's decision and expressing willingness "to work with any group toward implementing the decision." Further, the statement asserted: "We are unalterably opposed to any effort of either white or Negro citizens to attempt to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court of the

United States of America outlawing segregation in the public schools." They recommended the appointment of a bi-racial committee of 25 Negroes and 25 white persons "to find ways of implementing the Supreme Court decision."

Six-Point Program

At the meeting with the Legal Educational Advisory Committee, the Negro leaders submitted the following six-point program:

1. "We can do no other than endorse and abide by the decision of May 17, 1954 of the Supreme Court;"

2. "We invite all citizens to join hands to work for...more and better schools for every child in Mississippi" regardless of race;

3. Appointment of Negroes to "all policy-making boards and committees at all levels in matters of human relations;"

4. While seeking to "preserve the present good relationship between the races, ... we respectfully request our state leaders and agencies not to ask us to do those things which would destroy our influence with our own people;"

5. "Let us, therefore, rally to one standard -- to remove as soon as possible from the lives of our children, both Negro and white, those severe penalties which they now suffer because of an inadequate and segregated system of education;" and

6. "The only solution to the school problem that Mississippi can morally and financially afford, and at the same time will meet the approval of the United States Supreme Court, is to consolidate and integrate the present schools on all levels and then equalize and expand within the framework of consolidation and integration. After these schools have become consolidated and integrated, equalization can take place rapidly throughout the state and within the ability of the state to pay. The principal requirement under the consolidated and integrated program is that each child must attend the school nearest his or her home."

Dr. Howard Leads Group

Spokesmen for the group were Dr. T.R.M. Howard of Mound Bayou, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership; E.W. Banks of Jackson, Miss.; Ruby Lyles, former librarian at the state-owned Jackson College for Negroes; Percy Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate; President J.H. White of the state-owned Mississippi Vocational College for Negroes at Itta Bena; L.S. Alexander of Jackson; J.D. Boyd of Utica, former president of the Mississippi Negro Teachers Association, and Rev. H.H. Hume of Greenville, president of the Negro Baptist Convention and editor of a weekly Negro newspaper.

The lone supporter of the Governor's "voluntary" plan continuing segregation was J.W. Jones, a school teacher from Union County. However, Dr. Howard submitted a supplemental five-point program and Mr. Greene offered a seven-point compromise.

COURT BANS JIM CROW IN OHIO CONEY ISLAND PARK

August 5, 1954

CINCINNATI, Aug. 5.--The right of a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to enter and enjoy the facilities of Coney Island Park, a local privately-owned amusement resort, has been upheld by Judge Weber of the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas.

In granting a permanent injunction against the owners of the park, Judge Weber held that "the injury to the plaintiff by the wrongful acts of the defendant is irreparable and the statutory remedy is inadequate." The Ohio Civil Rights law provides for fines of from $50 to $500 or imprisonment of from 30 to 90 days, or both.

Suit was filed last year by Miss Ethel Fletcher who complained that she was denied admission to Coney Island Park on July 2 and again on July 4, 1953. Representing the plaintiff in this case were NAACP lawyers Michel M. Turpeau and Walter S. Houston of Cincinnati. Through her lawyers, Miss Fletcher asked for an injunction forever restraining the park from denying her admission and full enjoyment of its facilities.

Owners of the park asserted that on the days when Miss Fletcher was denied admission the park was under contract to private organizations which instructed the park officials "to refuse admission to any member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or any member of the Cincinnati Council on Human Rights, or persons acting in concert with them, because of previous unlawful disorderly subversive conduct of said groups, which conduct was detrimental to the peace and safety of the members and guests of said outing organizations." These groups had picketed the park and demonstrated against its Jim Crow policies in 1952.

The park officials maintained that this ban was not racial but included "white members as well as Negro members of the NAACP and the CCHR." However, witnesses testified that only Negroes were questioned as to the membership in either organization. A white member of the NAACP testified that she was permitted to enter without question. Park officials admitted that they did not know that Miss Fletcher was an NAACP member at the time they barred her.

In his opinion handed down on July 21, Judge Weber enjoined the park official from excluding Miss Fletcher from "said park and the opportunity to enjoy its facilities, because of her race or color, or because of her membership in the NAACP or in the CCHR, or for any other reason not applicable alike to every citizen."

The decision was hailed by Donald Jones, NAACP area field secretary, as a significant milestone in the fight to secure the civil rights of Negroes in Southern Ohio. "The granting of injunctive relief rather than the usual imposition of a light fine and the rejection of the subterfuge of exclusive use of the park by private

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JACK AND JILL NOW NAACP LIFE MEMBER

August 5, 1954

NEW YORK. Aug. 5.--Jack and Jill, a national parents association, this week joined the growing list of organizations which have taken out $500 life memberships in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Social clubs, trade unions, fraternal associations and professional societies are among organizations holding NAACP life memberships.

In addition to the Jack and Jill membership, the NAACP received this week a contribution of $100 from the CIO Newspaper Guild of New York and $459.62 from the following branches: Tampa, Fla., $200; Talbot County, Md.; $100; Ridgefield, Conn., $59.62; and Albany, N.Y. and Kenasha, Wisc., $50 each.

YOUTH GROUPS FETE LEADERS OF NAACP

August 5, 1954

NEW YORK, Aug. T.--Walter White, Thurgood Marshall and Dr. Kenneth Clark were guests of honor at a reception of youth leaders sponsored by the Metropolitan Coordinating Council of Youth Councils and College Chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the Willkie Memorial Building, 20 West 40th Street on August 2.

About 200 young people attended the reception. Among them was Miss Annie Ruth Varner, Cleveland school teacher, who, together with Walter Carrington, Harvard law student, will represent the NAACP at the World Assembly of Youth in Singapore, Malaya, next month. Miss Varner stopped in New York on the first leg of her round-the-world trip.

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NEWS FROM
NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-6890
WALTER WHITE, *EXECUTIVE SECRETARY*
ROY WILKINS, *ADMINISTRATOR*
HENRY LEE MOON, *DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS*

FOR RELEASE: AUGUST 12, 1954

RULES COMMITTEE HEAD HOLDS FATE OF ANTI-JIM CROW BILL

August 12, 1954

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12.--"The fate of the anti-Jim Crow travel bill is in the hands of Congressman Leo E. Allen, chairman of the House Rules Committee," Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, declared here this week.

The NAACP-sponsored bill to ban racial segregation in interstate travel has been favorably acted upon by the House Commerce Committee, Mr. Mitchell pointed out. The Republican-controlled 83rd Congress will not have another opportunity to pass any civil rights legislation, he stated.

"Even though the 83rd Congress is nearing its end, the anti-Jim Crow travel bill can be passed by the House provided the Rules Committee reports it out," the NAACP spokesman asserted. "Success in the House would enhance the bill's chance in the Senate where it has strong support. Southern opposition to the bill is expected to be less adamant than in the past."

Representative Allen, Illinois Republican, is reported to be considering calling a meeting of the Rules Committee to pass upon the measure. However, there has been no indication as to when such a meeting would be called.

NAACP LAWYERS MAP DEFENSE OF ACCUSED HEAD OF LOCAL BRANCH

August 12, 1954

NEW YORK, Aug. 12.--The president of a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, suspended from his post as a civilian employee of the U.S. Air Force for alleged sympathetic associations with Communists, will be defended by the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, administrator, announced this week.

Mr. Wilkins' announcement followed a conference with Theodore Griffin, the accused president of the Asbury Park, N.J., branch of the NAACP and Robert L. Carter, the Association's assistant special counsel. Mr. Griffin appeared before the Air Force Security Board on August 4 after his suspension from the service on June 28.

He has been president of the branch since 1951.

A review of the record, Mr. Wilkins said, shows:

1. That his acquaintance and association with the alleged Communists involved his official duties as president of the Asbury Park NAACP;

2. That two of the alleged Communist sympathizers were members of his branch;

3. That as long ago as 1951 he suspected them of being left-wing and took effective steps to curb their participation in activities of the branch;

4. That lacking proof of their Communist affiliation, he was unable to expel them;

5. That, however, last year he refused to accept their annual membership dues; and

6. That he has been a loyal American citizen and a dependable leader of the NAACP in his community where he has consistently fought against racial discrimination and segregation.

The Legal Department of the NAACP will review the transcript of Mr. Griffin's hearing before the Air Force Security Board. On the basis of this review, conferences with Mr. Griffin and an examination of Association records involving the Asbury Park branch, the NAACP legal staff will prepare a brief in defense of the accused man.

The NAACP, Mr. Wilkins asserted, rejects the theory of "guilt by association" and, accordingly, will use all of its resources in the defense of Mr. Griffin.

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PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
107 WEST 43 STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
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WALTER WHITE
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ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
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THURGOOD MARSHALL
Director and Counsel
ROBERT L. CARTER
Assistant Counsel
ARNOLD DE MILLE
Press Relations

FOR RELEASE: AUGUST 12, 1954

MEDICAL MEN GIVE $2,000 TO NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

August 12, 1954

NEW YORK, Aug. 12.--A contribution of the National Medical Association of $2,000 to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has been hailed as "a tremendous stimulus to ...the ten-year freedom campaign looking toward full realization of the provisions of the Emancipation Proclamation by its centennial in 1963."

In a telegram to Dr. A.M. Townsend, chairman of the NMA's board of trustees, Roy Wilkins expressed thanks for the "generous contribution" and said that he was "certain that it will act as an inspiration to other organized groups so that by our combined and persistent efforts second-class citizenship based upon race and color will be completely eliminated from American life."

The sum was voted unanimously by the House of Delegates of NMA following an appeal by Dr. W. Montague Cobb, member of the NAACP Board of Directors and chairman of the Association's National Health Committee. Dr. A. Porter Davis is president of the national medical society, which is holding its 59th annual convention in Washington.

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DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: AUGUST 19, 1954

PENNSYLVANIA CITIZENS' GROUP CITED FOR RACE RELATIONS WORK

August 19, 1954

HARRISBURG, Pa., Aug. 19.--The Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor today was awarded first prize in a national competition on better race relations conducted by an inter-faith group and at the same time received a cash grant of $5,000 from the Necchi Foundation of New York to help underwrite its work during the coming year.

Both presentations were made by Governor John S. Fine at a luncheon in the Penn-Harris hotel here, attended by more than 100 officials of the federal and state governments and of labor, church and fraternal organizations.

The Citizens' Committee was organized in 1952 by the national office and Pennsylvania State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Professor Cyrus H. Karraker of Bucknell University, Lewisburg, accepted the bronze plaque and the check on behalf of the Citizens' Committee, of which he is chairman.

The competition to determine the outstanding contribution to race relations during the past year was conducted by the Committee on Community Projects, sponsored jointly by the National Council of Churches' Department of United Church Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the National Council of Negro Women.

The first prize award given by this group to the Citizens' Committee cited the successful efforts of the committee to integrate migrant farm workers and their children into the communities in which they live, and called attention to the committee's work in securing better living and working conditions for the many thousands of migrant agricultural workers who harvest crops in Pennsylvania.

The Citizens' Committee was responsible for closing several migrant labor camps in this state which violated minimum standards for housing and sanitary facilities and for correcting widespread abuses in working conditions in the camps. In June of this year the committee established a fulltime child day care center for the children of migrant workers in Potter County, with the aid of federal and state funds.

Among the persons attending the luncheon were Miss Beatrice McConnell and Miss Elizabeth Johnson, representing the U.S. Department of Labor; Miss Hilda Schwartzbach of the Childrens' Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Mrs. James Spaulding of the U.S. Health, Education and Welfare department; and a number of members of the governor's cabinet and of the state legislature.

David M. Walker, secretary of the Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry, served as toastmaster and chairman for the event.

In addition to the NAACP State Conference and national office, other organizations participating in the work of the Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee are: United Steelworkers of America, CIO; Pennsylvania State CIO Industrial Union Council; International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL; and the Pennsylvania Council of Churches.

DONATIONS, LIFE MEMBERSHIP PAYMENTS, ENRICH NAACP CAMPAIGN BY $1,185.32

August 19, 1954

NEW YORK, Aug. 19.--Two persons and an organization made initial payments on a life membership in the NAACP in the past fortnight and an individual and a school contributed funds to the Association's Fight for Freedom campaign during the same period. The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to level race barriers in the U.S. by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Contributors to the campaign were Miss Edna L. Millard of La Jolla, Calif., who donated $150.00, and the Putney School, Putney, Vt., which sent $56.61. The Putney School is a private four-year high school.

Initial payments on an NAACP life membership were received from R.C. Scott, Richmond, Va.; Miss Pauline Gordon, Johnstown, Pa.; and the Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa.

An additional $728.71 was contributed to the Fight for Freedom campaign by eight local branches and a youth council of the Association, bringing the fortnight's campaign total to $1,185.32. Local units and their donations were: Jamaica, N.Y., $250.00; Syracuse, N.Y., $100.00; Willow Grove, Pa., $71.00; Brunswick, Ga., $50.25; Walla Walla, Wash., $50.00; St. Louis, Mo., $178.50; Flint, Mich., $11.00; Saginaw, Mich., $10.66; and the Kansas City, Kans., youth council $7.50.

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DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE:

SCHOOL BELL RINGS DEATH KNELL FOR SEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN TOWNS

FOR RELEASE TO A.M. PAPERS
TUESDAY, AUGUST 31

NEW YORK, August 30.--When the school bell rings next month, Negro and white children will be sharing classrooms in a number of Southern localities where strict school segregation formerly was maintained by state law, according to a survey of the Southern school situation being made by the NAACP.

Without waiting for the Supreme Court to issue decrees implementing its decision which held public school segregation to be unconstitutional, some Southern localities simply are integrating their public schools at the beginning of the fall term, the Association's survey shows.

Similar action has been taken by several Southern colleges and universities, as well as by some private schools in the South.

The Supreme Court decision banning segregated schools was the result of cases brought to the high judicial authority by the NAACP.

Communities and cities located in five Southern states have announced public school integration for next month, according to an imcomplete tabulation still underway in NAACP offices. These states are West Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, Maryland and Delaware.

In addition, public schools in the District of Columbia will be integrated for the first time this September.

In the five Southern states where school integration already is scheduled on the local level, a total of at least 23 towns or cities and one county have set the action for next month.

In some cases, integration has been accomplished during the summer term. In Kansas City and Columbia, Mo., and in Wilmington, Del., Negro students were enrolled this summer in what has been all-white public schools.

Missouri Ahead

Of the five Southern states in which public school integration plans are proceeding on the local level, Missouri is out front in de-segregating her schools, judging by preliminary results compiled by the NAACP.

In addition to the Kansas City, Mo., public summer schools, which opened their doors to all students, Kansas City Teachers' College will follow suit next month. The Kansas City board of education adopted a plan to end segregation in public summer schools, integrate vocational and junior colleges this fall, and complete integration in all public schools in September, 1955.

In St. Louis, Mo., a carefully drawn-up desegregation plan has been made public which specifies integration of the two teachers' colleges and the handicapped childrens' schools this September, of the high schools February 1 of next year. St. Louis elementary schools will stop segregating children in September, 1955.

In Columbia, Mo., home of the state university, public school integration started this summer. Race barriers will be dropped this fall at the University of Missouri and at its School of Mines in Rolla, as well as in the kindergarten, primary and high schools operated by the University's School of Education in Columbia.

Other Missouri towns which will integrate all public schools next month are Springfield, New Haven, Fredericktown, Kirksville, Clayton and St. Joseph. High schools only will be desegregated next month in Kennett, LaBelle, Macon, Butler, Woodcrest, West Plains, Shelbina, Fulton, Jefferson City, Mexico and Carthage. Similar action for elementary schools only will be carried out in September in Kirkwood and St. Charles.

Action in Other States

Segregated public schools will end next month in Baltimore, Md., and Monongalia County, W.Va., while the Fayetteville, Ark., high school will enroll students of both races for the first time in September.

In the field of higher education, the fall term will find both white and Negro students welcomed at previously segregated Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tenn.; University of Arkansas, Little Rock, Ark.; Hardin Junior College of Midwest University, Wichita Falls, Tex.; the two teachers colleges in Washington, D.C.; the nine state colleges in West Virginia; Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.; Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield, Mo.; Joplin (Mo.) Junior College; and Central Missouri State College, Fayette, Mo.

In several communities outside the 17 Southern and border states which enforced segregation by state law, the segregation of public school children on a municipal basis will be ended next month. These towns include Hobbs, N.M.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Pasadena, Calif.; and Chester, Pa.

Later Date Set

Integration has been set for 1955 in a number of Southern communities where plans to desegregate the schools have been made public. In January, 1955, the junior and senior high schools of Kirkwood, Mo., will begin operation on an integrated basis. In September, 1955, the high schools in St. Charles, Mo., and all the public schools in Charleston, Hancock County and Kanawha County, W.Va., and in Warrensburg, Mo., will integrate.

Since the Supreme Court declared public school segregation unconstitutional, a number of private Southern schools have voluntarily given up segregation. This past summer, a vacation Bible school conducted by the Parkersburg, W.Va., First Baptist Church for the first time welcomed and enrolled children of both races. In Virginia, the Catholic schools in Roanoke, Arlington, Fairfax and Falls Church will be integrated this fall, as will the four Catholic high schools in Richmond.

It has been announced that the Catholic school system of Baltimore, Md., will be desegregated at an unspecified later date.

Little Trouble

Scattered instances of complaints from white parents following school board desegregation plans have occurred, according to NAACP information. No trouble from children or college students has been reported during the newly-integrated summer sessions in various localities.

In Clarkton, Mo., and in Sheridan, Ark., the school board reversed its decision to integrate the schools this September following protests from white parents.

RECORD OF 83RD CONGRESS SHOWS TOTAL FAILURE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

August 26, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., Aug. 26.--Members of the 83rd Congress will try to run for reelection next November on civil rights records made by the Supreme Court and the Executive branch of the government to cloak their own dismal failure to pass civil rights legislation, it was asserted here today by Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau.

Mr. Mitchell pointed out that in giving the record of the 83rd Congress in the Congressional Record for August 20, Majority Leader Knowland mentioned the Supreme Court decision against school segregation, cessation of segregation in the armed forces, anti-bias action in the nation's capital, appointment of Negroes to government posts, and other actions of the Executive branch of the government.

Sen. Knowland's report does not mention FEPC, anti-jim crow travel, or other civil rights bills on which the Congress failed to act, Mr. Mitchell noted.

While boasting of the "score" on completed legislation in the 83rd Congress, Republican party leaders have said not a word about the failure to pass--or even bring up--a single civil rights bill.

A Republican Congressman, Rep. John Heselton of Massachusetts, made "a gallant attempt" to obtain approval of a bill to end segregation in interstate travel by imposing a fine of $1,000 on carriers if they practiced segregation, Mr. Mitchell asserted, but the bill was killed in the Rules Committee.

The Senate refused to act on the anti-bias travel bill until it was passed by the House.

The House non-segregation travel bill was a combination of bills introduced by Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY), William L. Dawson (D-Ill), Heselton and others. Its counterpart in the Senate was introduced by Senators Irving Ives (R-NY) and John M. Butler (R-Md.).

Other proposed civil rights legislation which got nowhere in Congress included an FEPC with enforcement powers, a non-discrimination amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act, an anti-bias specification in the Housing Act of 1954, and protection against practices of segregation in the Medical Facilities Survey and Construction Act which makes grants to states for hospitals and other health needs.

"Outside the strictly civil rights aspects of housing it should be noted that the 83rd Congress so curtailed the public housing program that many believe it has been consigned to a lingering but certain death," Mr. Mitchell commented.

FIRST NEGRO TO VOTE IN U.S. HONORED AT GRAVESIDE SERVICE

August 26, 1954

EL PASO, Ill., Aug. 26.--The first Negro to vote in the United States after the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was declared in effect was honored at a graveside ceremony here last week.

David A. Strother of this town cast his historic ballot in a city election here on April 4, 1870. Article 15 of the Constitution was declared in effect on March 30 that year.

At the memorial service for Mr. Strother, conducted during the El Paso centennial celebration, a Freedom Caravan of 20 automobiles led by the Rev. B.N. Moore came from nearby Peoria to participate in the ceremonies. Mr. Moore is president of the Peoria branch of the NAACP.

Billy Jones, president of the Illinois State Conference of NAACP branches, also spoke at the services.

The NAACP delegation presented a plaque to the town of El Paso for erection above the site where Mr. Strothers operated a barber shop for ten years. The plaque was accepted by Mayor George W. Graack on behalf of the city.

Article 15 of the U.S. Constitution states that the rights of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Mr. Strother was the first Negro to vote when the amendment went into effect by virtue of the fact that the El Paso city election was held one day earlier than most other elections that month.

NAACP LAUDS SERVICE OF DR. LEON RANSOM

August 26, 1954

NEW YORK, August 26.--Tribute to the public services of Dr. Leon Ransom, leading attorney, who died at his home in Washington August 25 was paid this week by officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP and himself a lawyer, noting Dr. Ransom's many years of legal service to the cause of Negro rights, said: "While many talented lawyers became too busy with their private affairs to devote much time to public service, Dr. Ransom over the years gave brilliant and devoted attention to legal cases in the civil rights field, often with no more reward than his bare expenses and the satisfaction of having established a new frontier in civil rights law for the benefit of his people."

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, recalling the years of advice and actual trial work given by Dr. Ransom to numerous NAACP legal cases, declared: "Negro Americans, whether they know it or not, owe a great debt of gratitude to Andy Ransom and men like him who battled in the courts down a span of years to bring us to the place we now occupy in the enjoyment of our constitutional rights as citizens. In helping to build up the NAACP legal program step by step, in the skill which he gave to individual cases and to the planning of strategy Dr. Ransom left a legacy to the whole population. One of his finest and most lasting contributions was the legal education he gave as professor of law to scores of students at Howard, including myself."

Dr. Ransom was a graduate of the law school of Ohio State University and received the highest marks ever to have been earned up to that time. He began working with the NAACP as soon as he joined the faculty of the Howard University Law School in 1931. One of his first important cases involved George Crawford of Loudoun County, Va., which he defended jointly with the late Charles H. Houston. He was active in most of the suits to equalize teachers's salaries, the Baltimore County high school cases and the University of Tennessee cases. He argued a number of criminal cases on appeal before the United States Supreme Court and with Z. Alexander Looby of Nashville, Tenn., successfully defended the Negroes involved in the Columbia, Tenn., riot of 1946. In this case, no Negroes were allowed in the town where the trial was held and Dr. Ransom, Mr. Looby, and Thurgood Marshall had to drive 75 miles each way a day to be present in court.

Dr. Ransom was a member of the NAACP national legal committee from 1932 until his death, also of the legal committee of the District of Columbia branch of the NAACP. He was also a member of the legal staff of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational

. . .

Fund up to the time of his death.

From his vacation spot Walter White, NAACP secretary, telegraphed: "Beginning with the Crawford case and through all the others, not only Andy Ransom's legal talent was evident, but his devotion to the cause of freedom as well."

PENNSYLVANIA MIGRANT CAMPS RAPPED FOR HEALTH VIOLATIONS

August 26, 1954

HARRISBURG, Pa., Aug. 26.--Action against 24 migrant labor camps in Potter County for violating minimum health and sanitary regulations has been taken by the Governor's Interdepartmental Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor it was reported by Herbert Hill, NAACP Labor Relations Assistant this week.

Following a meeting with state officials here last week, Mr. Hill noted that several of the offending migrant labor camps already have complied with the Committee and brought standards up to par.

Mr. Hill reported also the establishment, for the first time in this state, of a full-time child day care center in Potter County with funds provided by the federal government and the Pennsylvania Department of Rural Child Welfare.

He pointed out that these actions take place in the area of the greatest density of migrant farm laborers.

Activities aimed to lessen the problems of migrant farm workers in this state received national attention last week when the Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor was awarded first prize in a national competition on better race relations conducted by an interfaith group, and at the same time received a cash grant of $5,000 from the Necchi Foundation of New York to help underwrite its work for the coming year.

Presentation of the award and the grant was made by Governor John S. Fine here. Representing the national office of the NAACP at the presentation ceremonies was Herbert Hill, who also functions as consultant to the Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor.

THURGOOD MARSHALL TO BE HONORED FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ACHIEVEMENTS

August 26, 1954

HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y., Aug. 26.--Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will receive a Human Rights Award from the Workmen's Circle here on Sept. 5.

Mr. Marshall is being cited by the Jewish labor fraternal order for his successful legal defense against segregation in education before the U.S. Supreme

Court.

The Awards, first to be given by the Workmen's Circle, will be part of a Labor Day Encampment with Human Rights as the theme. A second award will be presented to Charles S. Zimmerman, vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, for his efforts in setting up an effective anti-discrimination program within the American labor movement.

The Workmen's Circle is an anti-totalitarian order with some 70,000 members in the U.S. and Canada.

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: SEPTEMBER 2, 1954

RECEIVED
SEP. 7, '54
Southern Regional Council

NEGRO MECHANICS ADMITTED TO EX-LILY-WHITE FLORIDA UNION

NEW YORK, Sept. 2: -- Fifteen Negro mechanics have been accepted as members of the previously lily-white AFL Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union in Dade County, Fla., it was announced here this week by Herbert Hill, Labor Relations Assistant for the NAACP.

Dade County encompasses Miami and Miami Beach.

Mr. Hill said the union's action came as the result of a sustained program to integrate lily-white craft unions in Florida conducted by the NAACP national office and the Miami branch.

The International Brotherhood of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, AFL, agreed to admit Negroes to membership after conferences between the union's business manager, W.T. Smith, Mr. Hill, and representatives of a small all-Negro building trades union in Miami.

The significance of admission of Negroes into the Dade County union, Mr. Hill pointed out, hinges on the fact that membership in the AFL union is a condition of employment in the major construction installations in the area.

To date, Negroes have been denied employment at the twenty-three-million-dollar Homestead Army Air Force Base and on all other construction jobs in Dade County because of non-membership in the AFL, Mr. Hill noted.

He observed that a rigid policy of segregation still exists in all other AFL building and construction trades unions in Dade County and throughout Florida, including unions of carpenters, tile setters and painters.

"The same vigorous action that resulted in securing the admission of skilled Negro craftsmen into the AFL Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union in Dade County will be used to end the policy of other Florida crafts unions which deny to Negro workers the right to earn a decent living," Mr. Hill asserted.

"Where membership in the Union is a condition of employment and where Negroes are denied membership solely because of color, the NAACP will use all possible means to secure admission of qualified Negro workmen into the established union."

THURGOOD MARSHALL OF NAACP GETS HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

FOR RELEASE AFTER 5:00 P.M., SUNDAY, SEPT. 5

HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y., Sept. 5: -- Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel who successfully argued the case for integrated public schools before the Supreme Court, was honored here today by a Jewish fraternal order as "a valiant defender of the rights of all minorities in proving that segregation is a violation of the tenets of American democracy."

Mr. Marshall was presented with a Human Rights Award by the Workmen's Circle, an anti-totalitarian group with some 70,000 members in the U.S. and Canada.

The scroll tendered to Mr. Marshall by Jacob T. Zukerman, Workmen's Circle president, further cited the civil rights attorney for proving that "jurisprudence in a democracy is the musket of freedom."

For "his determined role in fighting bigotry and discrimination," Thurgood Marshall "deserves the highest commendation from all those who cherish human dignity and freedom," the inscription declared.

The Human Rights awards, first to be given by the Workmen's Circle, were part of a Labor Day encampment with human rights as the theme. A second award was presented to Charles S. Zimmerman, vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, for his efforts in setting up an effective anti-discrimination program within the American labor movement.

J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS JOINS NAACP WASHINGTON STAFF

September 2, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 2: -- The appointment of J. Francis Pohlhaus to the staff of the Washington bureau of the NAACP was announced here today by Clarence Mitchell, bureau director.

Mr. Mitchell said that Mr. Pohlhaus will serve as a legal counsel and legislative assistant.

Mr. Pohlhaus, who holds degrees from Western Maryland College and Georgetown Law School in Washington, D. C., was a member of the legal staff of the Civil Rights Section, U.S. Department of Justice, for the past three years. Previously he had been an attorney advisor in the Division of Old Age and Survivors's Insurance of the Federal Social Security Agency for a year.

TEACHERS' GROUP TAKES $500
LIFE MEMBERSHIP IN NAACP

September 2, 1954

NEW YORK, Sept. 2 -- The American Teachers's Association, largest organized body of Negro teachers in the country, has paid in $500 for a life membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as part of the Fight for Freedom campaign. The payment was transmitted to the NAACP by Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, of Montgomery, Ala., executive secretary of the ATA.

The teachers's life membership was hailed by Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, as a "continuing indication that the vast majority of Negro teachers in the nation, contrary to propaganda, is in favor of the drive to end segregation in the public schools." Mr. Wilkins noted that the ATA has given financial support to NAACP efforts consistently and generously for many years.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to aid American democracy by eliminating racial discrimination and segregation by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Four persons and two organizations made an initial payment on an NAACP life membership during the past fortnight in which a total of $1,053 in Freedom funds was received. They were the Florida State Federation of Colored Womens'Club;Benevolent Fund District, Grand Lodge Number Seven, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of N.C., Raleigh, N.C.; Edward Cross, Orange, N.J.; Professor S. Ralph Harlow, Oak Bluffs, Mas Mass ; Myron E. Halpern, Boston, Mass.; and Dr. George Cannon, New York.

NAACP branches which donated funds to the national campaign during the same period were Fort Allen, La., and Harrison County, Tex., $100 each; and Red River Parish, La., $30.

Individual donations were received at campaign headquarters from Mrs. L. C. Thomas, Klamath Falls, Oregon, $15; Walter B. Wiley, Greencastle, Ind., $5;and N. Arana, New York, $3.

MORE NEGRO UNIVERSITY GRADUATES
RECORDED FOR 1953-1954 SCHOOL YEAR

September 2, 1954

NEW YORK, Sept. 2: -- A total of 46,343 Negro students was enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities during the 1953-54 academic year, it is reported in the current issue of The Crisis, official publication of the NAACP.

Of these students, 44,621 attended predominantly Negro colleges, while 1,722 attended racially mixed institutions.

The largest enrollment of Negro students in a mixed college was recorded at Ohio State University in Columbus, O., with 835 Negro students. The University of Southern California in Los Angeles was next with 318 Negroes enrolled.

The Crisis article notes that the figures cited are not complete, partly because "more and more of the racially mixed schools have given up the practice of keeping records by race."

During the academic year 6,139 Negro students graduated from U.S. colleges and universities -- 226 more than was reported in the special education issue of The Crisis last year.

The predominantly Negro colleges with the largest student bodies were, in addition to Howard University in Washington, D.C.: Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.; 3,051; North Carolina A and T, Greensboro, N.C.; 2,932; Prairie View (Texas) College; 2,627; and Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va., 2,215.

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FOR RELEASE: SEPTEMBER 9, 1954

NAACP HEAD SEES MISSISSIPPI SCHOOL ACTION AS BLOW TO TAXPAYERS, STATE'S EDUCATION

September 9,1954

NEW YORK, Sept 9: -- Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, today predicted "three evil consequences" if public schools in Mississippi are abolished as a legislative maneuver to avoid compliance with the Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools.

Declaring that "the people and taxpayers of Mississippi are to be pitied for the action of their legislature in voting to abolish public education," Mr. White anticipated these results:

1. "Many thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money will be be wasted in futile legal and administrative actions to flout orderly government in a subversive manner"

2. "Mississippi's educational system, which is the poorest of all American states, will be further disrupted and weakened"

3. "The action of the Mississippi legislature will play directly into the hands of Communist and other enemies of American democracy."

Elaborating on the final point, Mr. White noted: "We can be certain that headlines have been made all over the world by the Mississippi legislature's action, to the great harm of the United States."

The Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools "has done more to raise American prestige than any other act of our generation," he added.

According to a United Press report, a state constitutional amend- to permit Mississippi to eliminate its public school system to preserve segregation has received such favorable response in the state legislature as to virtually insure its passage. If the bill is passed it will go to the voters for ratification in December.

The Supreme Court cases which resulted in the decision against segregated schools were brought to the judicial authority by the NAACP.

BESIEGED NEGRO TENANTS AT TRUMBULL PARK HOUSING PROJECT WILL STAY PUT

CHICAGO, ILL., Sept. 9: -- Twenty Negro families residing in Trumbull Park Homes here have announced their intention of remaining in the federally-owned housing project in spite of constant acts of lawless violence against them.

In a joint statement released this week by the Chicago NAACP branch, the Negro tenants declared: "We wish to make it abundantly clear to the community in which we live, the city of Chicago -- its citizens and officials -- that Trumbull Park is our home, for better or for worse."

"It is here that we will rear our children," the statement continued, "send them to school, and as good citizens shoulder our responsibilities in helping to better our community, city and nation.

"The forces of bigotry, lawlessness and ignorance shall not deter us from this resolution ... In short, this is our home, our community, and we are here to stay -- come whatever."

Trumbull Park Homes has been the scene of repeated bombings and other violence by hoodlums since it admitted Negro families last year.

The first Negro family to move into Trumbull Park -- the Donald Howards -- moved out of the project last spring.

Another Negro family, the Johnsons, recently moved out because Mrs. Johnson's poor health was worsened by the Trumbull Park atmosphere of terror.

The moving of the Johnson family prompted the statement by the other Negro tenants.

In another action this week, the Chicago NAACP branch protested the demotion and subsequent dismissal of Miss Elizabeth Wood from her position as executive secretary of the Chicago Housing Authority. The NAACP unit questioned whether Miss Wood was dismissed from her job because of her stand for racial integration in Chicago Housing Authority projects.

An NAACP delegation which called on Mayor Kennelly and Chicago Housing Coordinator James Downes to ask for an investigation into the dismissal of Miss Wood also charged the Chicago Housing Authority with not building sufficient public housing, continuing "white only" projects, and vacilating about the lawless violence against Negro families at Trumbull Park Homes.

NAACP BRANCHES IN MISSISSIPPI GET THREATENING VISITS, CALLS

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Sept. 9 : -- Efforts to run the NAACP out of the State of Mississippi were reported here this week by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, the Association's Southeast Regional Secretary.

Mrs. Hurley described the efforts as "repercussions from the political campaign leading up to the recent primary election in Mississippi."

Action to run the NAACP out of the state was promised by the winner of the Senatorial nomination and several of the legislators in Mississippi, Mrs. Hurley explained.

She said her office has received numerous complaints from NAACP branches in Mississippi describing threatening visits and telephone calls by white persons to branch officers in several sections of Mississippi.

Cause of the lawless threats was laid by Mrs. Hurley to the recent Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools and to increased interest among Negroes in voting.

"Although our people are terribly annoyed, they are not frightened as they might have been a few years ago," she observed.

Mrs. Hurley said she has been assured by the national office of the NAACP that the full resources of the Association will be used to protect Negroes in Mississippi.

The entire matter may be placed before the U.S. Department of Justice, she added.

NAACP INITIATES FIRST LEGAL ACTION UNDER OREGON CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

PORTLAND, ORE., Sept. 9: -- Denial of service to a Nigerian exchange student at an Athens, Ore., restaurant has caused the first legal action under this state's year-old civil rights law.

The Portland branch of the NAACP has notified the restaurant owner that a law suit will be filed against him for his refusal to serve G. Ibom of Nigeria last June. Mr. Ibom has been attending the University of Oregon in Eugene.

NAACP DENIES ENDORSEMENT OF GEORGIA PRIMARY CANDIDATES

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Sept. 9: -- Charges that the NAACP endorsed certain candidates in the primary election held this week in Georgia were denounced here by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Secretary for the Association

Pointing out that the NAACP does not endorse political candidates nor political parties, Mrs. Hurley declared:

"Any statements by any candidate to the effect that the NAACP is in any way supporting another candidate is either deliberate falsification to confuse the voters or evidence of a woeful lack of knowledge."

Mrs. Hurley said that appeals from numerous Georgia organizations urging candidates for public office to refrain from the use of race-baiting and other "unsavory" campaign techniques were largely ignored by gubernatorial candidates in the recent primary campaign.

ILLINOIS CANDIDATES QUIZZED BY NAACP ON CIVIL RIGHTS POSITION

CHICAGO, ILL., Sept. 9: -- Candidates for Congress and for state offices were queried by the Illinois Conference of NAACP Branches this week concerning their views on civil rights measures.

They were asked to state their position on a number of civil rights, anti-discrimination and anti-segregation bills due to come up for consideration in the next sessions of Congress and the Illinois State Legislature.

Issues covered in the NAACP questionaire sent to the candidates included FEPC; legislation to ban bias in housing, health services and interstate transportation; anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills; statehood for Hawaii and Alaska; and measures to strengthen the Civil Rights Section of the U.S Department of Justice and the Illinois Civil Rights laws to stop violence against racial minorities such as prevails at the Trumbull Park Homes project here.

The candidates were informed by the state NAACP that a summary of their positions on civil rights issues would be released to the press in the districts in which they seek election, and also would be widely distributed to NAACP members and the general public throughout the state.

VIRGINIA NAACP TO CONVENE NEXT MONTH

RICHMOND, VA., Sept. 9: -- Nationally known figures in civil rights will assemble in Martinsville next month for the 19th annual convention of the state NAACP, it was announced here this week by W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches.

Mr. Banks said speakers at the meeting, to be held Oct. 8 to 10, will include Walter White, executive secretary; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; Edward R. Dudley, director of the Fight for Freedom campaign and former U.S. Ambassador to Liberia; and Gloster B. Current, director of branches; all of the NAACP national office.

Among NAACP leaders and speakers from this state will be Spottswood W. Robinson, special counsel for the Southeast; Oliver W. Hill, chairman of the state legal staff; Martin A. Martin, vice chairman of the state legal staff and chief counsel in the Martinsville

Seven cases; and Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the state unit and member of the national board of directors; all of Richmond.

Also, Dr. E. B. Henderson, Arlington, vice president of the Virginia Conference of the NAACP; Dr. S. F. Coppage, Norfolk, state NAACP treasurer; and Dr. John B. Henderson, Fairfax County, member of the Association's state executive board and president of the General Baptist Convention.

Gregory H. Swanson, a Martinsville attorney, has been named chairman of the planning committee for the convention.

Mr. Banks said that delegates to the three-day meeting will concern themselves with "securing for all Americans those inalienable rights as defined by our federal constitution, without regard to race, sex, religion or economic station."

ILGWU GIVES $2,500 TO NAACP CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK, Sept. 9: -- A donation of $2,500 from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign this week was hailed by Herbert Hill, NAACP Labor Relations Assistant, as "in the best tradition of American trade unionism."

The check was presented to Mr. Hill, representing the Association, by ILGWU President David Dubinsky, at the union's international headquarters here.

In accepting the check, Mr. Hill declared that the past year has seen "increasing moral and financial support from the American labor movement to the NAACP and its civil rights program."

The Association's Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in America by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The campaign received further contributions this week from the Paul H. Sampliner Foundation, Inc. New York, and the Wewoka, Okla., NAACP unit, which gave $50 and $25, respectively.

RECEIVED 9/20/54
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FOR RELEASE: SEPTEMBER 16, 1954

WEST VIRGINIA STUDENTS WITHDRAW PROTEST AGAINST HAVING NEGROES IN THEIR SCHOOL

NEW YORK, Sept. 16: -- White high school students who earlier this week staged a demonstration against Negro students assigned to their school in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., have withdrawn their objections, it was revealed today through information received at the NAACP national office here.

Walter White, executive secretary of the Association, said he had been informed of this fact by two West Virginia NAACP officials who, at the request of the national office, went to White Sulphur Springs to investigate the school situation there. They were T. G. Nutter, president of the West Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches and member of the Association's national board of directors, and Willard Brown, president of the Charleston, W Va., branch.

Mr. White noted that he had been informed by Mr. Nutter and Mr. Brown that a news story in yesterday's edition of a Charleston, W. Va., daily newspaper also announced that the white high school students had ceased their objections to having Negro students attend their school.

Earlier in the week the White Sulphur Springs school board reversed its decision to integrate local schools in line with the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public education after white students and white parents demonstrated against the entrance of Negro pupils into the formerly all-white high school.

ASIA'S DOUBTS ON EFFECTIVENESS OF SCHOOL DECISION REENFORCED BY SOUTH

NEW YORK, Sept. 16: -- Thousands of university students and other young people in Asia are scrutinizing each move of U.S. Southern states to defy the Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools, a Harvard Law School student just returned from a trip through five Asian nations declared this week.

Walter Carrington, one of 14 American delegates to attend the 50-nation World Assembly of Youth in Singapore, was interviewed here as he headed back to Cambridge, Mass., and his law studies.

In addition to Singapore, Mr. Carrington visited India , Pakistan, Thailand and and Malaya.

Young Mr. Carrington related that when he arrived in Cairo, Egypt, one of the first things to catch his eye was a front-page newspaper story on Louisiana's defiance of the Supreme Court decision.

Although the judicial ban against segregated public schools helped American prestige "tremendously" in Asia, the law student observed, Asian doubts regarding enforcement of the decision were constantly being "reenforced" by Southern moves to continue segregated public schools at any cost.

So closely were these moves being watched in Asia that Mr. Carrington found Asian students with whom he talked to be more up-to-date on Southern defiance of the high court than he was.

As the sole youth member of the NAACP national board of directors, Mr. Carrington can be considered to be quite up-to-date in U.S. race relations himself.

U.S. Unpopular in Asia

On the subject of American-Asian relations, Mr. Carrington painted a picture of current dislike for the United States throughout Asia. He attributed this present hostile attitude towards the U.S to "McCarthyism and its afiliated symptoms" and American foreign policy in regard to the Near East and the Far East.

Specific U.S. foreign policy moves which have brought about highly unfavorable Asian public opinion were cited by Mr. Carrington as:

---- "The rigid, inflexible stand of the United States on the question of Communist China," when most Asians think Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations as representing the people of that continent;

-- The help extended by the U.S to the French in the Indo-Chinese war, seen in Asia as direct American aid to French colonialism;

-- The pressure exerted by Washington on Asian nations to "line up militarily" in the cold war between East and West, when Asian public opinion favors the avoidance of war by remaining neutral in this conflict;

-- The recent Southeast Asia pact promoted by Secretary of State Dulles, seen in many Asian capitals as a move towards war; and

-- The recent U.S. -Pakistan pact, which has caused widespread ill-feeling in Pakistan itself as well as in other nations in Asia.

Miss Ann Varner of the Cleveland, O., NAACP youth council, also returned this week from the World Assembly of Youth, where she had served as an associate U.S. delegate.

Miss Varner, who begins a teaching career in the Cleveland public schools this month, made an around-the-world tour, visiting with youth and college groups to discuss problems confronting students in each nation.

NAACP YOUTH LEADER BACK FROM TOUR OF BRITAIN

NEW YORK, Sept. 16: -- The second NAACP youth leader to win a scholarship to the annual Experiment in International Living project arrived here from England yesterday.

Price Michael, president of the Lemoyne College NAACP chapter in Knoxville, Tenn., spent six weeks touring Great Britain as part of an exchange program to improve understanding between the two English-speaking nations. Hr will return to his college studies.

The Experiment in International Living project has headquarters in Putney, Vt.

FHA ASKED NOT TO FORCE RESIGNATION OF ADVISOR

NEW YORK, Sept. 16: -- The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week urged the Federal Housing Administration to cease efforts to force the resignation of A. Maceo Smith of Dallas, Tex., a racial relations advisor for the federal agency.

A telegram sent to FHA by the NAACP Board of Directors declared that the policy-making body was "inexpressibly shocked to hear reports... that the Federal Housing Administration has asked A. Maceo Smith ... to resign from his civil service position because he was listed in a national magazine advertisement as a 'man of distinction.'"

Mr. Smith is a member of the NAACP board of directors, as well as executive secretary of the Texas state conference of NAACP branches.

"This action against Mr. Smith is all the more inexplicable when one studies the list of outstanding persons who have been similarly named (in advertisements)--including the present governor of the Virgin Islands who was appointed by President Eisenhower," the telegram continued.

"This attack on Mr. Smith is either for selfish political reasons or because of his forthright fight for unalloyed opportunity for all Americans, especially in education, voting and housing without regard to race or color. We strongly oppose such assaults upon the federal civil service system."

Mr. Smith serves as FHA racial relations advisor for the Southwest region.

NAACP TO HOLD REGIONAL CONFERENCE IN ASILOMAR

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., Sept. 16: -- The effect of current American politics on civil rights, the "why" of registering and voting, and next steps in the program of the NAACP will be examined at a Western regional conference of the NAACP in Asimolar, Calif., next month.

In making this announcement, Franklin H. Williams, secretary-counsel of the Association's West Coast office here, said that Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, will deliver the principal address at the meeting, to be held Oct. 15 to 17.

NAACP officers and membess from seven Western states and the Territory of Alaska will participate in workshop sessions on voters' education, and NAACP internal structure, fund-raising, membership drives, local action and credit unions, Mr. Williams noted.

The seven states which, together with Alaska, comprise the Western region of the NAACP are: California, Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah and Washington.

COLLEGE STUDENTS' CONVENTION CALLS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL INTEGRATION

AMES, IA., Sept. 16: -- A resolution calling for immediate de-segregation of the public schools was adopted by delegates to the Seventh Annual Congress of the U.S. National Student Association here.

The statement, voted enthusiastically by 700 student delegates representing every major college and university in the U.S., declared in part: "Segregation in education by race is unethical and unwise. It is now unconstitutional.

"The U.S. National Student Association pledged to seeking the elimination of such segregation, urges the swiftest possible integration of the races at all educational levels in all parts of the country.

"In the face of ethical concepts, legal requirements, and global ramifications, there can be no justification for delay in the implementation of the Supreme Court decision."

The strongly-worded redolution, introduced by the chairman of the Great Southern Region, caught many of the youthful northern delegates by surprise.

Up to that time most statements on school segregation were rather weak and evasive due to an extraordinary precaution on the part of northern delegates to avoid what they considered offending the southern delegates.

The southerners, in turn, resented this attitude and finally condemned the northerners for what they termed "a mealy-mouthed attitude on such an important matter."

Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary who represented the Association at the student meeting, declared: "In far too many instances we are finding northerners taking a more conservative position on these important civil rights issues than do native born southerners "

The ten-day Congress, which met at Iowa State College, ended Aug. 31.

ILLINOIS NAACP ASKS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS PLANKS IN STATE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

CHICAGO, ILL., Sept. 16: -- The state NAACP has asked the Democratic Party of Illinois to include four civil rights planks in its 1954 platform. They are:

1. FEPC legislation providing for a state anti-discrimination agency with enforcement powers.

2. Strengthening and better enforcement of state civil rights laws.

3. Effective action by local and state officials to prevent or suppress acts of violence against racial minorities, such as prevails as Trumbull Park Homes project in this city.

4. A pledge that all school districts in the state will fully comply with the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public education.

The civil rights planks were presented to the state Democratic Party's Platform Committee by A. L. Foster, chairman of the NAACP State Legislative Committee here last week.

GOVERNOR TALMADGE CALLED USEFUL TO THE KREMLIN

For Release After Delivery,
2:00 p.m., September 21

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., Sept. 21: -- Herman Talmadge, governor of Georgia, was blasted here today as "more useful to the Kremlin than the whole American Communist party in creating distrust of the white western world."

Addressing the United Steelworkers of America, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, referred scathingly to Governor Talmadge's open defiance of the Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools and to the Southern governor's recent statement that he doesn't care what the Communists say about his defiance of the law.

The civil rights leader declared it "fortunate" that most southerners do not agree with Talmadge.

Mr. White also censured the 83rd Congress for its failure to act on, "or even seriously consider, a single piece of civil rights legislation."

He described the civil rights record of President Eisenhower as "good" but that of his party as "bad."

The steelworkers were praised by Mr. White for their fight against racial discrimination and segregation in the South as well as the North.

The union's recent elimination of the North-South wage differential also brought praise from Mr. White. The regional differential was eliminated in recent negotiations conducted by the steelworkers' president, David McDonald, with U.S. Steel.

As "effective" civil rights work done by the steelworkers Mr. White cited the union's support of municipal, state and federal FEPC, as well as legal briefs filed by the CIO in the school segregation, restrictive covenant and other court cases which resulted in "civil rights victories."

Meeting the "challenge" of unemployment and working for compliance with the Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools were seen by the civil rights leader as "the great task immediately ahead "

He described the work for compliance with the Court's decision as "a struggle not of Negroes alone, but of all Americans who believe in democracy and obedience to law, and who want to keep bigots from taking away America's great faith in democratic progress."

Mr. White, who addressed the seventh international convention of the United Steelworkers of America, was accompanied to the convention by Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant.

NAACP YOUTH SECRETARY TO SPEAK AT WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

NEW YORK, Sept. 16: -- Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary, will attend the annual meeting of the West Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches at Beckley, W Va., this week. The meeting is being held Sept. 17 to 19.

The youth leader will then address the student body of West Virginia State College in Institute, W Va., on Sept. 20.

EDUCATION SPECIALISTS WILL HELP SOUTH DESEGREGATE ITS SCHOOLS

For Release After Delivery,
3:00 p.m., September 19

BALTIMORE, MD., Sept. 19: -- To desegregate the South's public schools as rapidly as possible the NAACP will within the next three weeks "place in the southern states at least four trained and experienced educational specialists to work full-time with organized groups and individuals of both races" on school integration, it was announced here today by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel.

Mr. Marshall, who successfully argued the case for integrated public schools before the Supreme Court, opened the annual membership drive of the local NAACP branch at Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church.

The civil rights attorney recalled that the NAACP 1954 annual convention last June set September, 1955, as "the time limit within which we will seek (school) desegregation by negotiation and without litigation."

He described all sections of the NAACP, local and national, as "determined to use every resource possible within the framework of our American government to get desegregation in public schools ... without the necessity of continued and prolonged legal action."

He noted that "where local school boards refuse to negotiate in good faith and are determined to flaunt the law of the land... we have no doubt the Negroes involved will then be forced to seek redress in the courts as a last resort."

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: SEPTEMBER 23, 1954

INTEGRATION PROCEEDS WITH ONLY FEW TROUBLE SPOTS, MARSHALL SAYS

NEW YORK, Sept. 23. -- Resistance to school integration, as in Milford, Del., and White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., is the exception rather than the rule in communities which have taken steps to abide by the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling of May 17, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said here today.

Mr. Marshall, who headed the battery of NAACP lawyers who argued the public schoool segregation cases before the Supreme Court last December, cited successful integration in Baltimore, Washington, St. Louis and other border state cities.

"In West Virginia 12 counties have gone ahead with complete integration and 13 others have initiated programs of partial integration," he said.

"Schools in Dover, Wilmington and other communities in Delaware have been integrated without incident. The flare-ups in White Sulphur Springs and Milford are spectacular only because they are the rare exceptions."

According to a report received by the NAACP attorney from Dr. J. Kenneth Morland, a noted white southern sociologist who made an on-the-spot investigation, the trouble in the West Virginia city stemmed from resentment of the fathers of some of the white boys on the football squad against the presence of two Negro boys on the squad who apparently were headed for first team positions. Reportedly those fathers urged the youngsters to organize a strike against the admission of Negro students.

Threats of violence in White Sulphur Springs were calmly met by Negroes who were prepared to defend their children. Dr. Morland told the story of an elderly Negro woman who reportedly loaded two guns, parked her car near the school, and openly vowed to shoot anyone who laid a hand on her children, saying that she was old and did not have long to live anyhow.

Mr. Marshall deplored the amount of newspaper publicity given to the exceptional cases.

"The big story," he said, "is that integration is being widely accepted in practically all the communities where it has been tried. The transition has been so smooth in Washington that the program of integration has been greatly accelerated.

"In Carthage, Mo., Negroes have been welcomed to the formerly all-white high school and two have been elected to class office. The trouble spots have unfortunately been magnified out of all proportion to their importance."

Mr. Marshall and his staff of lawyers are preparing to present the NAACP recommendations for the Supreme Court decrees at the hearing set for December 6. In ruling segregation unconstitutional on May 17, the Court called for further argument before handing down a decree on when and how to implement its decision against public school segregation.

QUICK STUDENT, TEACHER INTEGRATION URGED BY WEST VIRGINIA NAACP MEET

BECKLEY, W. VA., Sept. 23: -- Public school desegregation "as soon as possible" and "not later than September, 1955" was called for here by delegates to the tenth annual conference of the West Virginia Conference of NAACP Branches.

A resolution on schools adopted by the assemblage further urged that teachers as well as students be included in integration action to comply with the Supreme Court decision which held segregated public schools to be unconstitutional.

Commenting on the school strike in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., which resulted from school integration there, the delegates said in a statement:

"We deplore the un-American conduct of the protesting group of parents and students against integration in Greenbrier county schools and commend Negro parents for the manner in which they handled the difficult situation.

"Negro students were within their rights to register at white high schools and it is unfortunate that the board of education rescinded its order."

Conference delegates heard J. W. Robinson, assistant supervisor of instruction in the state education department, report that full integration has taken place in 12 West Virginia counties and partial integration carried out in another 13 counties.

"There were no unusual incidents on opening day in the counties that have integrated or partially integrated," Mr. Robinson asserted.

Dr. William J. L. Wallace, president of West Virginia State College, delivered the keynote address at the two-day meeting, which closed on Sept. 19 with an address by Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington, D.C. bureau.

Participants in a panel discussion on NAACP community action program and legal action included Willard L. Brown, Charleston, chairman of the Association's state legal redress committee, and Oliver W. Hill, Richmond, member of the national legal committee of the NAACP. Gloster B. Current, director of branches for the Association, served as moderator.

T. G. Nutter of East Charleston was reelected president of the State Conference of NAACP Branches. The Rev. J. Mitchell and Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison, both of Huntington, were reelected secretary and treasurer, respectively.

EDWARD R. MURROW MAKES INITIAL NAACP LIFE MEMBERSHIP PAYMENT

NEW YORK, Sept. 23: -- Edward R. Murrow, news analyst, television producer and a member of the board of directors of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has made an initial payment on a life membership in the NAACP.

Two other persons last week paid $500 each to become life members of the NAACP. They are Dr. Will Taylor, Sr., of Monroe, La., and Louis Schneider, Newark, N.J. Dr. Harold J. Berman of Newton Centre, Mass., made an initial payment on a life membership in the Association.

Mr. Murrow, a native of North Carolina, has in the course of his career been cited by numerous organizations for his contributions to reporting, radio broadcasting, television producing and to the cause of democracy in America.

He has received the Overseas Press Club award six times, and the Peabody award three times, both including this year. He was cited this year also by the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, the Sidney Hillman Foundation, Look Magazine, the National Newspaper Publishers Association (Russwurm award), and the Newspaper Guild of New York (Page One award). In addition, he received the Flaherty award for excellence in documentary films and the National Association for Mental Health award for his "See it Now" television program.

On Oct. 3 Mr. Murrow will receive the annual Freedom House award for his outstanding contributions to democracy in the United States.

A member of the staff of the Columbia Broadcasting System since 1935, Mr. Murrow has served successively as director of education, European director, World War 11 correspondent and a vice president and director of public affairs.

CONTRIBUTIONS CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK, Sept. 23: -- Two persons in the South and a seaman in this city donated funds to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign during the past fort-night.

They are C. C. Dejoie, New Orleans, La., $100; Miss Harriette Davenport, Chattanooga, Tenn., $10; and Heriberto Borrero, $100.

In addition, five NAACP branches in all sections of the nation contributed a total of $787.80 to the national drive for full civil rights, bringing the two-week total to $997.80.

Branch contributions were: Chattanooga, Tenn., $400; Cedar Rapids, Ia., $153; Schenectady, N.Y., $200; Perry, Okla., $25; and Oroville, Calif., $9.80.

The Fight for Freedom campaign of the NAACP seeks to strike down race discrimination and segregation in the U.S. by Jan. 1, 1963, the centernial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
107 WEST 43 STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

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Director and Counsel
ROBERT L. CARTER
Assistant Counsel
ARNOLD DE MILLE
Press Relations

September 23, 1954

U. S. SUPREME COURT ASKED TO SAVE ALA. YOUNGSTER

Washington, D. C. - The United States Supreme Court was asked last week to save the life of a 17 year old Negro youth found guilty of rape and sentenced to die in the electric chair by an Alabama all-white jury.

Petition asking the United States Supreme Court to intervene in the case of Jeremiah Reeves, Jr., a little-educated, mentally unstable youth who was arrested and charged with the crime November 10, 1952, was filed by NAACP Legal Defense attorneys. They charge the lower court with depriving the youth of his constitutional rights and of systematically excluding Negroes from the jury. Reeves was accused by a white woman who claimed she had been raped by an unknown assailant some 6 months before. He was taken to the state penitentiary at Kilby, Alabama, held for 3 days and not permitted to see or consult with anyone. He was subjected to constant questioning in a room with an electric chair and told that if he did not confess to the crime, and also to 6 other crimes, he would be electrocuted. He was told that confessing to the crime would save him from the chair.

After he was compelled to confess he was taken to the county jail in Montgomery on November 12 and placed in a room where his accuser identified him as her assailant. At the time, he was the only Negro in the room and she had been told that he had confessed.

The woman had originally identified her assailant as a Negro, 17 to 25 years of age, 5 feet 9½ to 5 feet 10 inches in height, without a mustache, wearing a dark blue shirt with a yellow gold design and a straw hat. There was uncontradicted testimony that he had always had a mustache since he was 14 years old, that he never owned any clothing that remotely resembled those described, and that he is 5 feet 7 inches tall and was under 17 at the time of the alleged offense.

Reeves was indicted on November 14 despite his continued plea of innocence.

At the trial, which began November 26, the judge ordered the court cleared with the exception of witnesses and court officials. A motion by Reeves' attorney to have a public trial, as required by the federal law, was rejected by the judge. Two other motions made by Reeves' attorneys were also denied. One was to have the press and a private stenographer remain in the courtroom, and the other attacked the method of selection of the jury. Although 43.6% of the population in Montgomery County is Negro, a maximum of 6.5% of any jury panel was ever Negro. Often no Negroes appeared on juries at all. Jury commissioners selected jurors from among their own personal acquaintances.

Near the end of the trial, it was discovered for the first time that a member of the jury was the Chief of the Montgomery Reserve Police Force, which was organized for the express purpose to track down "alleged Negro rapists" and that he had been active in this case. Reeves' attorney's request for a mistrial on that ground was denied by the judge. He was convicted and sentenced to die.

A petition for rehearing was filed with the Alabama Supreme Court on August 6, 1953. It was denied on November 27. On March 12, 1954, the United States Supreme Court was asked to review the case. The high court agreed to do so on June 7.

In asking the United States Supreme Court to intervene, NAACP Legal Defense attorneys charged that the confessions which the prosecutor introduced into evidence were gotten by force, that the systematic exclusion of Negroes from the jury constituted a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that exclusion of the public denied due process of law. The high court is asked to reverse the Supreme Court's judgment which affirmed the lower court's death sentence of Reeves.

NAACP Legal Defense attorneys pleading Reeves' case are Thurgood Marshall, Director Counsel of Legal Defense, Robert L. Carter and Jack Greenberg, Assistants, Elwood H. Chisolm, David E. Pinsky and Louis H. Pollak of New York and Peter A. Hall of Birmingham, Alabama.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET **NEW YORK 18, N. Y.** **LONGACRE 3-6890**

WALTER WHITE, *EXECUTIVE SECRETARY*
ROY WILKINS, *ADMINISTRATOR*
HENRY LEE MOON, *DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS*

FOR RELEASE: SEPTEMBER 30, 1954

TWO-YEAR GOP RULE
WEIGHED BY NAACP

September 30, 1954

NEW YORK, Sept. 30.--While the legislative roadblock to civil rights remained unchanged during two years of Republican control in Washington, "substantial steps in the direction of full democracy for all" were made by the executive branch of the government, according to a report on Civil Rights Under the Eisenhower Administration, 1953-54 issued this week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The report, prepared by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington Bureau, lists important gains made through executive action and charges that "the failure to pass any civil rights legislation during this session of Congress must be shared by the Administration, its congressional leaders, and the leadership of the minority party."

Anti-Bias Action Lauded

President Eisenhower is praised in the report for action against segregation in Naval shore establishments, in schools on military posts, and in the armed services generally. Attorney General Herbert Brownell is credited for participation in the public school segregation cases and for his refusal to appoint anti-civil rights officials on two occasions.

Veterans Administrator Harvey Highley is praised for his action ending segregation in Veterans Hospitals but Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is mentioned as one of the persons who sought to block the ending of segregation in schools on military posts.

Commissioners of the District of Columbia are cited for their prompt action to enforce laws forbidding segregation in restaurants after the Supreme Court held that such laws are valid. The Commissioners also are lauded for ending racial segregation in the District of Columbia Fire Department.

Remaining trouble spots in the executive branch, the report points out, include the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, where employment discrimination still exists, and the Naval Base at Bainbridge, Md., where officials have violated President Eisenhower's non-discrimination orders by barring colored children from a school on the post. The housing policies of government are listed as a force in promoting racial segregation.

Congress Ducks Issue

Congressional committees ducked the issue of segregation in housing, the report states, but the question was raised in reverse when the late Senator Maybank (D., S.C.) tried to strike public housing from the 1954 housing act because the United States Supreme Court refused to review a California Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public housing. The Maybank move was defeated by an overwhelming voice vote with Senator William Knowland (R., Calif.), majority leader, and Senator Herbert Lehman (D., N.Y.), listed as the only two persons who recorded their opposition to the Maybank proposal for the record.

According to the report, the President not only failed to request Congress to act on any civil rights bill, but also repudiated the action of Secretary of Labor James Mitchell when the latter endorsed an FEPC bill at a Congressional hearing.

In discussing FEPC, the report points out that a Senate bill on this subject was approved by the Labor Committee with only Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.) dissenting. However, five of the Republican members expressed reservations about enforcement powers.

Representative John Heselton (R., Mass.) is described as waging a gallant fight to obtain approval of a bill to end segregation in interstate travel. Those named as blocking the bill were Representative Leo Allen (R., Ill.), chairman of the House Rules Committee, and Minority Leader Sam Rayburn of Texas, who halted a move to suspend the rules in order that a vote might be taken on the bill.

The report condemns the passage of legislation giving aid to the states without safeguards against segregation.

NAACP ATTORNEYS TO APPEAL HILLSBORO, O., SCHOOL CASE

September 30, 1954

NEW YORK, Sept. 30.--NAACP attorneys announced here today that they will appeal the ruling of a federal judge to hold over a school segregation case in Hillsboro, Ohio, until after the Supreme Court hands down its final decrees in the decision banning segregated schools.

On Sept. 29 Federal District Judge John H. Druffel said in Cincinnati that he would withhold his decision in regard to the case brought by the NAACP.

The Association's case sought a preliminary injunction against the Hillsboro board of education to restrain the board from requiring Negro students to withdraw from two previously all-white elementary schools, pending the final determination of an action brought by five Negro mothers on behalf of their children.

Judge Druffel ruled that the case be continued until two weeks after the Supreme Court hands down its final decrees.

The Negro children were allowed to enroll in the white schools on registration day, Sept. 7, and were assigned to seats in regular classrooms on Sept. 8. They attended classes each day until Sept. 15, when the board of education advised their parents that schools zones had been established and that the streets on which they lived were in the Negro elementary school zone.

No white children under the board's zoning order were assigned to the Negro school.

The Negro children have been kept home from school by their parents since Sept. 15. Their parents refused to send them back to the Negro elementary school.

TWO VACATIONERS HAVE THE SITUATION WELL IN HAND

September 30, 1954

NEW YORK, Sept. 30.--What does a membership chairman do on this vacation?

Bask in the sun, thankful to forget for two brief weeks his project of recruiting new members?

Not energetic Boston businessman Kivie Kaplan.

Mr. Kaplan, national co-chairman of the NAACP's life membership committee, went to Martha's Vineyard, Mass., for two weeks.

During the first week of his "vacation" Mr. Kaplan personally enrolled six new life members into the NAACP, at $500 a head.

During the second week, while visiting NAACP board member Dr. S. Ralph Harlow -- also on his "vacation," Mr. Kaplan and his host secured seven NAACP life memberships in five days.

In the same five days the two vacationers enrolled an additional two new regular members into the Association.

A letter from Dr. Harlow, received at NAACP headquarters this week, covered the situation in 12 well-chosen words:

"Last week Kivie was here with me and we went to work."

SENATOR DONATES $1,000 TO NAACP CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE

September 30, 1954

NEW YORK, Sept. 30.--Senator and Mrs. Herbert Lehman this week contributed $1,000 to the Fight for Freedom campaign of the NAACP.

The campaign, initiated last year, seeks to rid America of racial discrimination and segregation by Jan. 1, 1963 -- the centennial of the Emancipation tion Proclamation.

The week's total of campaign contributions -- $1,971 -- was received at campaign headquarters here both from private individuals and from local branches and a state unit of the Association.

Griffith M. Gunther of New York paid $500 to become a life member of the NAACP, while Mrs. Mary Tobias Messner, also of this city, sent $50 as an initial payment on an Association life membership.

Donald Jones, Cincinnati, Ohio, donated $5 to the campaign.

Branches which this week sent funds to aid the fight for full civil rights on the national level were: Warren, Ohio, and Steubenville, Ohio, $100 each; the Ohio State Conference of NAACP Branches, $81; Hillburn, N.Y., $75; Allen, Ohio, and Evansville, Ind., youth council, $25 each; and Paulding, Ohio, $10.

13 STATE-WIDE CIVIL RIGHTS MEETS SET FOR NEXT MONTH

September 30, 1954

NEW YORK, Sept. 30.--State-wide civil rights conference will be conducted in 13 states next month under auspices of the NAACP.

These states, representing all geographical localities in the U.S., have on their agenda of meetings the annual convention of the state NAACP unit.

Four more such annual state NAACP conventions will be held during the month of November.

All 17 conventions will feature distinguished speakers in the field of civil rights and racial equality under law, including national and state officials of the NAACP. Among these speakers will be NAACP national officers Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman, Board of Directors; Walter White, executive secretary; Edward R. Dudley, special assistant; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington, D.C., bureau; Gloster Current, director of branches; Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast regional secretary; and Herbert Wright, youth secretary.

Starting October 1 with a two-day meeting in Gary, Ind., state NAACP conferences scheduled for October will be held in Martinsville, Va., and Charleston, Mo., Oct. 8 to 10; Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 9 and 10; Lumberton, N.C., Oct. 15 to 17; Ottumwa, Ia., Oct. 16 and 17; Spartanburg, S.C., Oct. 16 to 18; Kansas City, Kans., Oct. 17 to 18; Little Rock, Ark., Joliet, Ill., and Waco, Tex., Oct. 22 to 24; Ferriday, La., Oct. 29 and 30; and Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 29 to 31.

NAACP state conventions for the month of November will be held in Jackson, Miss., and Roswell, N.M., Nov. 5 to 7; Selma, Ala., Nov. 12 to 14; and Idabel, Okla., Nov. 18 and 19.

ROY WILKINS TO ADDRESS FAR WEST NAACP MEETING

September 30, 1954

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 30.--The West Coast regional conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will have Roy Wilkins, national administrator from the New York office, as the principal speaker and discussion leader when it meets October 15-17 at Asilomar, California, on the ocean front near Carmel.

Delegates have already sent in advance registrations from NAACP branches in Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California, New Mexico and Arizona. They will devote part of the three-day meeting to a discussion of methods of making effective the Supreme Court decisions on segregation in the schools and elsewhere. One week after its historic pronouncement on public school segregation last May, the highest court refused to review a decision of the California Supreme Court banning segregation in public housing in a San Francisco case.

According to Franklin H. Williams, NAACP regional director, the Western states are seeking to clean up any remaining school segregation and to attack in vigorous fashion the problems of discrimination and segregation in housing and employment.

In addition to speaking at the Asilomar conference, Mr. Wilkins will address NAACP meetings in Santa Monica, Los Angeles and Vallejo, California; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle, Washington.

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

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HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: OCTOBER 7, 1954

SCHOOL BIAS STRIKES ABATE IN WASHINGTON, BALTIMORE

October 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 7.--Student strikes against integration of public schools in Baltimore and Washington had apparently abated toward the end of the week as school authorities in both cities made it clear that there would be no capitulation to the hate-inspired demands.

Back-to-school movements developed this week in both cities with school authorities warning that punitive measures would be taken for further unexplained absences. Both cities today reported nearly normal attendance in all schools. There were some holdouts at Anacostia and Eastern High Schools in Washington whose students had been encouraged to continue the strike by Congressman James C. Davis (D.,Ga.).

Nixon Intervenes

The strikes were forthrightly condemned by Vice-President Richard M. Nixon who pointed out to Delaware parents that his two daughters were attending school in the racially integrated system in the District of Columbia. He repeated his appeal to halt racial discrimination in a state-wide radio broadcast and later reiterated his opposition to the strikes in a speech in Omaha, Nebraska.

Meanwhile, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called upon Attorney General Herbert Brownell "to make it clear to all concerned that the full force of the federal government stands behind the local school boards involved in effecting a transition from segregated to desegregated schools."

The telegram, signed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, blamed the so-called National Association for the Advancement of White People for provoking the strikes. "Such action," he charged, "is not only reprehensible within itself but is obviously in direct violation of the civil rights laws of the United States guaranteeing and protecting American citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights." The Attorney General was asked to deal "vigorously and promptly" with violators of the civil rights laws.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Jewish Congress also called upon Mr. Brownell to take effective action to protect Negro children in the enjoyment of their newly affirmed rights.

Delaware Governor Blamed

After an on-the-spot investigation in Milford, Del., Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, NAACP social science consultant and New York City College associate professor, reported that "Governor J. Caleb Boggs played a major role in this travesty."

The Governor, Dr. Clark asserted, "was hesitant and indecisive at the crucial initial stages of lawlessness. He contributed to the duration and intensity of defiance by his willingness to make concessions to those who threatened violence. He was in Milford when one of the earlier hysterical mass meetings were held. The pattern of lawlessness was clear at that time. Yet he refused to make a public statement censuring the methods of the mob. This is in striking contrast to the eloquent appeal for common decency and respect for 'American tradition' made by Vice-President Nixon on his recent visit to Delaware."

Suit filed in Delaware

Hearings on a suit filed by NAACP Attorney Louis Redding in behalf of the 10 Negro children ousted from the Milford High School will be held on October 12. Mr. Redding filed papers in the Chancery Court at Georgetown on October 2 seeking to enjoin the Milford School Board from excluding the Negro children enrolled in the high school.

UNIONS, PHYSICIANS, BRANCHES GIVE TO NAACP FREEDOM FUND

October 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 7.--A contribution of $5,000.00 by the United Automobile Workers, CIO, Detroit, and one of $500.00 by the Pocketbook Workers Union, AFL, New York, helped bring the total for the week ending Oct. 6. to $6,345.00 for the NAACP Fight for Freedom campaign which seeks to eliminate racial segregation in the U.S. by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Other contributions making the total were three from branches in Canton, Ohio, and Berkshire, Mass., of $100 each and one from the Terre Haute, Ind., branch of $50, as well as a $50 contribution from the Bethany Baptist Association of Southern New Jersey in Camden.

Initial payments on NAACP life memberships were made by Mr. Franklin Dandridge, Anchorage, Alaska; Dr. J. Everard Carey, Dr. Richard M. Carey, Dr. Arthur C. Logan, Dr. William A. Withers, all of NYC; Mr. Alfred Hall and Mr. Morris S. Hall, of Edgartown, Mass; The Brickman Family, Mr Henry Cronig and Dr. Joseph Frisch, of Vineyard Haven, Mass.; Dr. David Rappaport, Oak Bluffs, Mass., and Mr. Louis P. Smith, of Brookline, Mass.

RACIAL PROVINCIALISM ASSAILED BY WRITER

October 7, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 7.--The American Negro, by thinking only in terms of civil rights in his country, is unwittingly supporting the formation of a "garrison state", emersed in hostility and hated by colored peoples the world over, warns William Worthy, in the October issue of The Crisis, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Worthy asserts that the foreign aid program of the United States is regarded by the colored peoples of the world as a rejuvenated policy of economic imperialism in a revealing article entitled "Of Global Bondage." Moreover, he said, the growing tide of economic expansion and foreign exploitation has become the unfortunate means by which the United States seeks to assure herself an upper hand in the polarized struggle for world power. This is especially dangerous to the Negro, "who entertains illusions about his growing stake of 'equality' in an economic and social order that is not only doomed, but is a menace to mankind."

A report, issued by the Chicago branch of the NAACP, on the Trumbull Park Homes situation appears in this issue, as well as an editorial on the desegregation of schools and a review by Henry Winslow of Tell Freedom, an account, by Peter Abrahams, of his childhood in the slums of Johannesburg, South Africa.

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET **NEW YORK 18, N. Y.** **LOngacre 3-6890**

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE:

AMERICAN RACISTS PROVIDE GAINS FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Release after 8:00 p.m.,
Friday, Oct. 15, 1954

SPARTANBURG, S.C., Oct. 15.--U.S. racists are the "most effective" American allies of international communism, an eminent churchman and civil rights leader asserted here tonight.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board of directors, pointed out that America's undemocratic race practices make her an easy mark for Soviet criticism aimed at "wooing not only the black man of Africa but also the brown and yellow peoples of the Orient and Latin America."

The retired director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund spoke at the 14th annual convention of the state conference of NAACP branches.

American communists are a "small discredited band," Dr. Tobias observed, but the "advocates of 'standpatism' in race relations" are a necessary aid to Soviet denunciation of the United States.

Maintaining that race relations in the State of South Carolina "cannot remain unaltered," the civil rights leader declared that "white supremacy, or the supremacy of any racial group, is doomed."

"Neither science nor morality recognizes inferior or superior races."

"The rejection of science and religion by the racists creates a crisis throughout the world," the civil rights leader contended.

Urges Action by Byrnes

Dr. Tobias recalled that nearly 10 years ago James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State, had, while urging him to accept a diplomatic post, explained that he, Mr. Byrnes, had given up his exalted position on the U.S. Supreme Court because he did not want to sit on the bench and review old cases while "outside the world was on fire."

"In the light of that incident," Dr. Tobias asserted, "I respectfully urge the now Governor Byrnes, faced with the responsibility of influencing implementation of the Supreme Court school decisions in his state, that this be done in the light of the present international situation, rather than in the light of local prejudice or political expediency, for the world is still on fire."

Other speakers scheduled to address the three-day meeting included Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel; Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant for the Association; M.J. Perry, Spartanburg attorney; and C.S. Sampson, Greenville attorney.

FOUR CITIES SEEK 30,000 NEW MEMBERS FOR NAACP

October 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.--Campaigns now being conducted in four major cities seek a total of 30,000 new members for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Miss Lucille Black, membership secretary, announced this week.

The Baltimore and Cleveland branches, which are perennially in rivalry with Detroit for first place among NAACP branches, are each seeking 10,000 members. Detroit conducted its campaign last spring and now has a total of 11,000 members. Last year Cleveland had 8,500 and Baltimore, 7,000.

Chicago, which last year took in 4,000 memberships, has set a goal of 5,000 for the current drive. Down in Texas, Houston is seeking to increase its membership three-fold for a total of 5,000. Last year the branch enrolled 1,500.

Assisting the local branch officers and committees in the drives are four NAACP field workers: Miss Mildred Bond in Baltimore; Miss L. Pearl Mitchell in Cleveland; Miss Gertrude Gorman in Chicago; and Mrs. Lulu B. White in Houston.

At annual state meetings to be held in Illinois and Texas, October 22-24, in North Carolina and South Carolina, October 16-18, in Georgia, December 3-5, and in Alabama, November 12-14, special emphasis will be placed on membership efforts.

S.S. AMERICA CREW IS 100 PER CENT FOR DEMOCRACY

October 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.--Crew members of the ship, S. S. America, recently decided to do a good turn for democracy.

Delegates from various departments of the ship drew up a public statement putting the crew "on record as being against all kinds of racial discrimination in our nation" and "one hundred per cent behind the efforts of the NAACP to bring these diseases to an end."

The statement also called for a "voluntary donation to be collected among members of the crew, to be sent to the NAACP organization to help it proceed in its struggle."

Last week, a representative of the crew, Heriberto Borrero, brought to

Association headquarters here $61 in NAACP memberships sent by the seamen of the S.S. America.

An additional $2,453.70 was received by the NAACP during the past week to aid the organization in its fight for full civil rights.

Madison H. Carter of Uhrichsville, Ohio, paid $500 to become a life member of the NAACP, while M.C. Martin of Danville, Va., and Dr. George C. Branche of Tuskegee, Ala., sent $75 and $50 respectively, as initial payments on a life membership.

The Overton (Tex.) Choir Federation donated $50. A number of individuals sent an aggregate amount of $152.50.

The Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches contributed $1,500 to aid the fight for racial justice on the national level, and the Racine, Wis., NAACP branch, $126.20.

WHITE HOSPITALIZED AFTER SUFFERING HEART ATTACK

October 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.--Because of a heart attack Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will be out of the office for a period, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, NAACP board chairman, announced today.

Mr. White is under the care of physicians at New York Hospital where his condition is reported as "satisfactory." According to attending physicians the NAACP leader is "doing well." However, he is in "need of absolute rest."

Mr. White was readmitted to the hospital on October 12. Previously he had been released after having been hospitalized for four days.

TO INSPECT FACILITIES OF RADIO FREE EUROPE

October 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.--Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is one of some 70 representatives of national organizations who will make a nine-day trip to Europe to inspect the Radio Free Europe facilities at Munich, Germany.

The group leaves New York by plane on Wednesday, Oct. 20, returning on Oct. 29. The tour, arranged by the Crusade for Freedom, sponsors of Radio Free Europe, includes visits to Munich, Berlin and Paris. Conferences with government, business and labor leaders in these cities have been arranged.

Crusade for Freedom is a project of the American Heritage Foundation of which Thomas D'Arcy Brophy is president and Henry Ford II, chairman of the board. Through Radio Free Europe it seeks to inform people in the Iron Curtain countries of democratic progress in the free world.

Other organizations participating in the tour include Junior Chamber of Commerce, Advertising Council, Congress of Industrial Organizations, United States Conference of Mayors, National Education Association, Veterans of Foreign Wars, National Council of Catholic Men, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and American Legion Auxiliary.

NAACP WILL AID IN ALL LOCAL SCHOOL DESEGREGATION EFFORTS

October 14, 1954

SANTA MONICA, Calif., Oct. 14.--A national officer of the NAACP this week pledged the "full resources" of the Association to any local legal effort to secure desegregation of the schools in line with the Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, told a meeting of the NAACP branch here that resistance to the Supreme Court no-segregation rule is "sporadic" and that "dozens of communities have carried out desegregation successfully."

The meeting, held on October 10, was attended by the Mayor and Congressman Donald Jackson.

Addressing the Pacific Town Club in Los Angeles on October 12, Mr. Wilkins praised the spirit of the 28 citizens of that area who have taken out NAACP life memberships or become life membership subscribers since the first of the year. Dr. H. Claude Hudson, national NAACP board member, is president of the club.

Explaining that the NAACP needs funds to carry out desegregation in local communities, Mr. Wilkins urged more large gifts to the Association as well as life memberships "to speed the elimination of segregation from American life."

HAIL MRS. ROOSEVELT ON SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

October 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.--In commemoration of her seventieth birthday, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent a telegram, on behalf of the board, to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

The telegram hailed Mrs. Roosevelt, who has been a member of the board since 1948, for her "great and consistent contributions" to the cause of human freedom, and praised her for her "unflagging devotion to the noblest democratic ideals."

At a birthday dinner given for Mrs. Roosevelt here on October 11 by the American Association for the United Nations famous men of many countries joined in paying tribute to the great lady, among them Trygve Lie, former U.N. Secretary-General, and Ralph Bunche, director of the Trusteeship Department of the United Nations, and himself a member of the board.

SOUTH AFRICAN OBSERVER SEES U.S. SEGREGATION PRACTICES "DOOMED"

October 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.--Alan Paton, South African humanitarian and author of the celebrated novel, "Cry the Beloved Country" concludes in a current article that racial segregation in the United States is "dying." The evidence, he says, is "massive."

Mr. Paton earlier this year visited the Deep South, the West Coast and major U.S. cities, gathering facts on the Negro in America which he shaped into two articles for Collier's Magazine.

"What does it mean to say that the remnants of segregation are doomed?" asks Mr. Paton in the second of these articles in the October 29 issue of Collier's.

"It means that just as America has accepted and made part of herself all the peoples of Europe, and has resolved within herself those tensions which twice have torn the world apart, she now accepts, or is on the threshold of accepting, all those other races which live upon her soil."

Continuing to answer the question he has posed, Mr. Paton declares:

"To me there is one inescapable implication of the end of segregation... To me America is declaring that she upholds no kind of racial civilization, but upholds civilization itself. This may have considerable consequences for the peace of the world.

"I take it to be a fact of immense significance," Mr. Paton says, "that the leaders of Negro action, who can without great error be identified with the NAACP, have set 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, as the year by which all forms of segregation and discrimination should have been rooted out forever from the life of America."

Noting that the early years of the NAACP "were devoted to the defense of Negro rights," Mr. Paton observes that "as time passed, the NAACP grew more aggressive in its fight against racial discrimination. Its leaders sometimes went in danger of their lives.

"...Finally the NAACP began to attack segregation itself, and in 1954 won the greatest victory of all, when the Supreme Court of the United States declared that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal."

On the South African race question, Mr. Paton is less optimistic.

If white South Africans do not revise their racist practices, the author contends, "they will find themselves, having rejected the evolutionary solution, heading for a revolutionary one.

"But most white South Africans do not see that; or if they do, they think they have more time for the evolutionary solution than they will get."

In the first of his articles, in Collier's for October 15, Mr. Paton dealt with the American Negro in school and church. His current article is concerned with the Negro and housing and employment.

PRESIDENT URGED TO PICK NEW JUSTICE WITHOUT BIAS

October 14, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.--President Dwight D. Eisenhower has been urged to "consider all possible appointees without regard to race" in the selection of a jurist to succeed the late Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

In a telegram sent today to the President, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the appointment "should not be considered as a political appointment but one entirely in terms of ability without regard to party affiliations or race of person considered."

Dr. Tobias, on behalf of the NAACP, also urged the President "to examine carefully the records of possible appointees in regard to their position in favor of the democratic principles of the protection of individual and civil rights."

EXPECT NEGRO STUDENTS BACK AT MILFORD HIGH

October 14, 1954

WILMINGTON, Del., Oct. 14.--Ten Negro children ousted from the Milford, Del., High School solely because of their race, are expected to be re-admitted to the school next week upon order of Vice-Chancellor William Marvel of the Chancery Court.

In a ruling handed down today the court affirmed the "clear legal right" of the children to return to the school from which they had been dropped in response to the organized protest of pro-segregation elements.

Following the ouster, Louis L. Redding, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, filed suit on October 2 asking the court to enjoin the Milford Board of Education from excluding the Negro pupils. Argument was heard on October 12 with State Attorney General H. Albert Young appearing as friend of court and arguing for readmission of the children.

On Tuesday, October 19, Mr. Redding will apply for a decree ordering the Milford school authorities to readmit the children. The school board may ask for a stay. However, it is anticipated that the order will be issued and the children returned to the school which they had attended for ten days without incident until outside agitators inflamed white parents against permitting their children to go to school with colored children.

In his eight and-a-half page ruling, the vice chancellor held that the Negro children "having been accepted and enrolled, are entitled to an order protecting their status as students at Milford High School; that their right to a personal and present high school education having vested on their admission, they need not wait for decrees in the cases decided by the United States Supreme Court in May as prerequiste" to their readmission.

"We are highly pleased," Mr. Redding asserted, "our position has been vindicated and that the court has recognized the right of these children to remain in the Milford High School. With this recognition there should be no further disturbance."

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FOR RELEASE: OCTOBER 21, 1954

ILLINOIS NAACP MEET TO FEATURE CANDIDATES' CIVIL RIGHTS STAND

October 21, 1954

JOLIET, Ill., Oct. 21.--The position on civil rights measures taken by candidates for Congress and state offices will be featured in the program book of the state NAACP's annual convention here this week.

The candidates were queried by the legislative committee of the Illinois NAACP last month concerning their position on such issues as equal job opportunities, legislation to end discrimination in hospitals, housing and education, and general strengthening of civil rights laws.

The candidates' voting records on civil rights legislation also will be included in the convention program book.

Keynote speaker at the meeting, to be held October 23 and 24, will be Sidney Williams, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League. Mr. Williams' topic has been announced as "The Fight for Freedom in Illinois."

The Fight for Freedom campaign of the NAACP, a national effort, seeks to rid America of all race discrimination and segregation by January 1, 1963 -- the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Earlier this week, A.L. Foster, chairman of the state NAACP's legislative committee, announced that the civil rights questionnaire sent to all candidates by his committee was not answered by Joseph T. Meek, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate who is opposing the incumbent Democratic Senator, Paul H. Douglas.

Senator Douglas, Mr. Foster said, declared in his response to the questionnaire his support for a federal FEPC with enforcement powers, for a strictly-enforced non-segregation and non-discrimination policy in all public housing, and for government action to eliminate race discrimination in private housing.

Answers to further NAACP questions, Mr. Foster revealed, showed that Senator Douglas favors abolition of the poll tax and of segregation in interstate travel, passage of federal anti-lynch laws, and statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska. The Senator also favors legislation to ban the use of federal funds for health services, hospitals, education, or any other activities or institutions without safeguards against segregation and discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed or national origin.

Workshop sessions on employment and FEPC, educational opportunities, civil rights legislation, and NAACP membership and fund-raising drives will be conducted at the convention.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT JOINS NAACP IN FIGHT ON RR SEGREGATION

October 21, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 21.--Racial discrimination in any form on railway trains operating in interstate commerce is a violation of the Constitution and the Interstate Commerce Act, the U.S. Department of Justice informed the Interstate Commerce Commission in a brief filed with the ICC on October 19.

The brief, signed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and Stanley N. Barnes, assistant attorney general, was filed one day after Robert L. Carter, NAACP assistant special counsel, filed a brief for the NAACP and other individual complainants with the ICC charging 11 railroads and a terminal company operating a railway station with discriminating against Negroes in interstate travel.

The Justice Department brief stated, in part: "The time has come for this commission (the ICC) ... to declare unequivocally that a Negro passenger is free to travel the length and breadth of this country in the same manner as any other passenger.

The separate but equal doctrine no longer "retains vitality or authority in the field of public transportation," the brief stated.

"By the same token that segregation in public schools, under command of a State, is a denial of the 'equal' protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment," the Justice Department argued, "segregation in interstate travel is a denial of the equality of treatment required by section 3 (1) of the Interstate Commerce Act."

The complaint against the railroad carriers originally was lodged with the Interstate Commerce Commission on December 14 past, five days after reargument of the school segregation cases before the Supreme Court. It was brought by the NAACP and 20 individuals against the 11 railroads, one terminal company and one restaurant operator.

Prior to a hearing held July 27 and 28, seven of the 11 railroads had entered into stipulations with NAACP counsel, admitting that they maintained segregated coach facilities for Negro passengers in some form.

NAACP counsel stipulated that these facilities were equal to the physical facilities provided for white passengers. Therefore, the sole issue was legality of segregation per se.

In its brief filed last week with the ICC, NAACP counsel questioned the legality of the companies' policies, rules and regulations which subject Negro passengers to segregation, discrimination and embarrassment, and asked the ICC to issue a "cease and desist order ... barring all railroad carriers as well as the 11 before the Commission from enforcing a policy or practice of racial segregation ... in interstate commerce, including Pullman cars, dining cars, coaches, station and railroad terminals."

NAACP ACTION GETS PROMOTION FOR ARMY CIVILIAN EMPLOYEE

October 21, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 21.--A Negro civilian employee of the Headquarters First Army on Governors Island here has received the previously denied status rating of "Government Service -- 4" to which she was entitled as a result of NAACP grievance action on her behalf.

The employee, Mrs. Iva A. Cole, was represented by Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant.

Mr. Hill met with personnel officials of the Headquarters First Army and represented Mrs. Cole at official sessions of the First Army Grievance Committee at Governors Island. He charged that Mrs. Cole had been denied promotional opportunities to which she was entitled solely because of her race and color.

WALTER WHITE MAKING "SATISFACTORY PROGRESS" AFTER HEART ATTACK

October 21, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 21.--Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, is making "satisfactory progress" after having suffered a heart attack recently, it was announced at NAACP national headquarters here today.

Physicians caring for Mr. White at New York Hospital, 525 East 68th Street, have reported that the civil rights leader, although coming along well, will not be able to return to his NAACP post for an indefinite period of time.

Mr. White was readmitted to New York Hospital on October 12. Previously he had been released by the hospital after having been hospitalized for four days.

CHARLESTON HOMECOMING BANQUET TO HONOR JUDGE AND MRS. WARING

October 21, 1954

CHARLESTON, S.C., Oct. 21.--A ~~homecoming~~ banquet will be given in honor of Judge and Mrs. J. Waties Waring here on Nov. 6.

The dinner, sponsored by the State Conference of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will be a testimonial honoring the judge who, for many years, has befriended the Negro in the courts of South Carolina.

Attorney Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the NAACP, will address remarks to the group, as will Marion Wright, president of the State Conference. The main address will be delivered by Judge Waring.

DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA, AFL UNION STEPS UP INTEGRATION

October 21, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 21.--Fifty-two Negro bricklayers and masons have been admitted to membership in Local 7 of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, AFL, in Dade County, Florida, as the result of NAACP program to integrate Florida craft unions, it was announced here this week by Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant for the Association.

Mr. Hill, who headed up the integration drive, met with the union's business manager, W.T. Smith, and with representatives of a small all-Negro building trade union in Miami earlier this year with the result that the first ten Negroes were admitted into the union in August.

Since that time 42 additional Negro mechanics have been admitted and plans are being made to disband the independent all-Negro union.

This segregated union is relatively ineffectual since membership in the AFL most often is the condition of employment in the industrial installations of the area which encompasses Miami and Miami Beach. Without AFL membership, skilled Negro mechanics are limited to construction jobs only in the Negro community.

One of the final actions of the all-Negro trowel-trades union was to send a contribution of $53 to the NAACP national office. In a message to Mr. Hill, Samuel W. Perry, business manager of the segregated union, said: "we feel this small sum does not compare with the services, time and patience given by the NAACP to make integration a reality among construction trade unionists in Miami."

DONATIONS AND BEQUEST BRING $9,308 TO NAACP'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

October 21, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 21.--A donation of $100 from Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians here to the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign this week was accompanied by a message declaring: "Local 802 detests and actively opposes the things against which you are fighting."

The Fight for Freedom campaign aims to eliminate all race discrimination and segregation from American life by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The letter from Local 802, signed by its President, Al Manuti, noted: "My only regret is that our contribution cannot be larger since the by-laws of 802 set one hundred dollars as the maximum amount which may be voted upon by our Executive Board for any outside agency or cause... We consider it a privilege to be able to join with you in your fight."

The week's contributions to the Fight for Freedom campaign, which totalled

$9,308.11, included another labor union donation. The Trowel Trades Union, Independent, in Miami, Fla., sent $58 as an expression of its appreciation for the NAACP's successful efforts to break down segregation in construction trades unions in the Dade County, Fla., area.

In addition to a bequest from the estate of Miss Eleanor Alexander, Cleveland, Ohio, in the amount of $3,240.11, the NAACP received further donations this week from individuals who sent a collective total of $235, and from the South Carolina State Conference of NAACP branches, which contributed $75.

Seven persons and a Southern church became life membership subscribers of the Association during the same week. They are Dr. Ulysses G. Dailey, Chicago; Dr. D.J. Sammons, Clinton, N.C.; Dr. L.P. Armstrong and Dr. Joseph W. Parker, Rocky Mount, N.C.; Dr. A.V. Blunt, Greensboro, N.C.; Dr. G.K. Butterfield and C.L. Darden, Wilson, N.C.; and the Third Union Baptist Church, King William, Va.

WEST COAST PARLEY TOLD SEGREGATION IS DEAD AS PHILOSOPHY IN AMERICA

October 21, 1954

ASILOMAR, Calif., Oct. 21.--Segregation as a philosophy is dead in America, although the practice of it will linger on for some years, it was declared here last week at the West Coast Regional convention of NAACP delegates from seven Far Western states.

More than 300 delegates heard Roy Wilkins, national administrator of the NAACP, in an address on the portent of the Supreme Court opinion in the school segregation cases and its opinions in cases involving public housing and other municipal services and facilities handed down one week after the famous school opinion.

"Desperate efforts are being made and will continue to be made to maintain the practice of segregation," Mr. Wilkins declared, "but the philosophy of racial segregation in America is dead. The die-hards are fighting what they know to be a losing rear-guard action and their desperation can be measured by the crack-pot agitators who have jumped into action and staged demonstrations that have no roots among the majority of the people in any given community."

The speaker cautioned that the rooting out of the practice of segregation would require continuing and intensified effort, using every device, including court action, but expressed the opinion that by 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the major task would be accomplished.

C.L. Dellums, chairman of the West Coast region, gave a report on the progress of the past year throughout the section which extends from Anchorage, Alaska, down the Pacific coast and eastward to Phoenix, Ariz., and Salt Lake City. Special awards for outstanding accomplishments were made by Franklin H. Williams, regional secretary-counsel, including the introduction to the delegates of West Coast life members of the NAACP.

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PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

107 WEST 43 STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

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WALTER WHITE
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Assistant Counsel

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Press Relations

October 22, 1954

ENGLEWOOD SCHOOL BIAS CHARGES AIRED IN PUBLIC HEARING

TRENTON, N. J. - The first public hearing under the New Jersey Anti-discrimination law, since the Supreme Court decision outlawing Jim Crow schools, began here Wednesday with the airing of complaints of two Negro parents against the Englewood Board of Education.

The parents charged the Englewood school board with fixing the school zone boundries to include most of the city's Negro population in one zone, thereby forcing the Negro pupils to attend a segregated school.

The hearing is being conducted by State Commissioner of Education, Dr. Frederick Raubinger, and held in the State House Annex.

The parents, Mrs. Susan Anderson and Mrs. Mary Walker, are being represented by Mrs. Constance Baker Motley and Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense staff, and Leonard Williams, NAACP attorney of Trenton. New Jersey Deputy Attorney General Thomas Cook is presenting the case for the state and the parents.

Witnesses for the Negro parents testified that the newly drawn boundary lines segregate the Negro school population into one school, the Lincoln School, located in the 4th ward where the majority of the city's Negro population lives.

Dr. John Milligan, Deputy Commissioner of Education and Director of the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, held that the new boundary lines were not drawn in the best interest of the anti-segregation policy of the New Jersey Anti-discrimination law. He testified that there is only one white student in the Lincoln Junior High School of one hundred thirty Negro students. The Engle Street Junior High School has more than 500 students of which about 10 per cent are Negro.

Dr. Milligan pointed out that if the whole population in the area was white there would not be two junior high schools since it would be "uneconomical to have two junior high schools so close to each other, one of which had a very small student body. A single junior high school, accommodating 1,000 pupils, could very well take care of the community, he said.

The Lincoln elementary school is under capacity. The Cleveland elementary school is overcrowded. The boundary lines were drawn, the school board attorney, former Judge Thomas J. Brogan, argued, to relieve the Cleveland school. He pointed out that last year the Cleveland enrollment was 702 and 622 this year.

Dr. Milligan testified that while the new lines reduced the enrollment at the Cleveland school, the enrollments of the Roosevelt and Franklin school, both all-white, were increased. The Lincoln school was left with six vacant classrooms. It is possible to "eliminate a racially segregated school", the director of the Division of Discrimination said, if the lines were different. He testified that he tried to get the Englewood Board to change the lines last August, but he was unsuccessful.

He said he regretted having to be the first Director of the Division Against Discrimination to call a public hearing on charges of discrimination against a school board. "I regret what has been done here", Dr. Milligan asserted, "and I regret I failed at conciliation."

Dr. H. Harry Giles, Professor of Education at New York University and Director of the Center for Human Relations, who has made a 6-year study of the Englewood situation, testified that the present zones make it impossible for the school population to get the best possible use out of the existing school facilities and at the same time reduce the present predominance of Negroes in the Lincoln school. He recommended that the Lincoln and Liberty zones be consolidated into one. All pupils from kindergarten through the 3rd grade could attend one school and those from the 4th to the 6th attend the other.

A State witness, Carl W. Glatt, who investigated the complaints of the two Negro parents, testified that despite the state law which prohibits the identification of pupils according to race, a small "c" was placed on the enrollment cards of Negro children in the superintendent's office.

The hearing will continue on Tuesday, October 26, 1954.

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DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE:

LOCAL AUTHORITIES ARE DECISIVE FACTOR IN SCHOOL INTEGRATION

For Release After Delivery,
Sunday, October 31, 1954

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex., Oct. 31.--Local authorities can make or break the efforts of their community to conform with the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in the schools, an NAACP official asserted here today.

Gloster B. Current, director of branches for the NAACP, said experience since the Court's decision has shown that "where the authorities take a positive approach to integration and affirmatively state their policy, integration can be successfully accomplished without too much friction."

Mr. Current praised New Mexico schools for their successful integration this fall and noted that "reports coming into the NAACP national office from Missouri, West Virginia, Arkansas, Delaware and other states where desegregation is taking place clearly indicate that most people are accepting the change gracefully."

He addressed a meeting on NAACP program and action sponsored by the local branch of the Association.

Referring to efforts of Bryant Bowles, head of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, to stop school integration by promoting school strikes and other agitation, Mr. Current characterized Mr. Bowles as a "crack-pot."

"Bowles' activities and those of others like him," Mr. Current declared, "are but a dying gasp of those who would circumvent the decision of the United States Supreme Court by violent means."

He called for an "all-out effort by NAACP branches in the South to give greater support to raising the necessary funds to end segregation and discrimination in every phase of American life."

Americans "of every race" were urged to join the NAACP and "take part in this fight to secure first class citizenship for all."

ILLINOIS NAACP LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN FOR FEPC

October 28, 1954

JOLIET, Ill., Oct. 28--A campaign for passage of FEPC and other civil rights legislation by the Illinois General Assembly in 1955 was launched at the annual convention of the state NAACP here last week.

An enthusiastic audience contributed more than $250 to start the campaign, at a concluding mass meeting of the two-day convention on Oct. 24.

In addition to FEPC, the NAACP state legislative program includes measures to ban bias in hospitals, health and medical services; to bar segregation and discrimination in housing; to ban discrimination in the issuance of insurance; to strengthen the civil rights statutes of Illinois; and to strengthen anti-segregation and anti-discrimination laws in the field of public education.

Resolutions adopted by the delegates pledged the full resources of the state NAACP to end segregation and discrimination still existing in many Illinois school districts and to end violence against Negro tenants in the federally-financed Trumbull Park Homes project in Chicago.

The delegates also called for an intensified non-partisan political action program by the state NAACP and branch units to "mobilize and direct" the "balance of power" of Negro voters toward winning the objectives of the Fight for Freedom campaign, by means of register-to-vote campaigns, get-out-the-vote drives and widely distributed public information on the candidates' positions on civil rights issues.

The Fight for Freedom campaign aims to eliminate all segregation and discrimination from American life by January 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

NAACP APPOINTS NEW FIELD SECRETARY

October 28, 1954

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NEW YORK, Oct. 28.--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has announced the appointment of Charles W. Greenlea of Atlanta, Ga., as assistant field secretary for that state.

Prior to this appointment Mr. Greenlea worked with the USO in Georgia, and more recently with the Atlanta *Daily World*, the only Negro daily newspaper in the country.

Mr. Greenlea has been consistently active in the Atlanta branch of the NAACP and the Georgia State Conference of NAACP Branches.

NAACP FIGHT FOR FREEDOM DRIVE RECEIVES $1,375 IN DONATIONS

October 28, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 28. Headquarters of the NAACP's Fight for Freedom campaign here has announced donations totaling $1,375 during the past week to aid the fight for full civil rights.

The campaign received a bequest of $300 from the estate of Miss Eliza F. Wilson, Richmond, Va., and $160 from New York locals of the joint board of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union, AFL.

In addition to several individuals who collectively contributed $45, seven local NAACP branches sent a total of $870 to national headquarters. They were: Joliet and East St. Louis, Ill., $250 each; Weldon, N.C., Indianapolis, Ind., and Danville, Ill., $100 each; Williamsport, Pa., $50; and Arkansas City, Kans., $20.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to remove from American life all segregation and discrimination by January 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

REV. MARY EVANS, CHICAGO, IS NEW NAACP LIFE MEMBER

October 28, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 28.--The Rev. Mary G. Evans, minister of the Cosmopolitan Independent Community Church of Chicago, Ill., heads the list of new NAACP life members received this week, it was announced here today by the Association's national office. The $500 life membership was presented to Dr. Evans by the congregation at the church service October 24 following an address by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin of Pittsburgh, guest speaker for the special day service.

Another new life member is Presley S. Winfield, prominent realtor of Berkeley, Calif., who made his final payment of $300 at the NAACP Far Western regional convention at Asilomar, Calif., October 16.

Partial payments on life memberships were received this week from the following persons in the St. Louis, Mo., and East St. Louis, Ill., areas: Dr. John Eubanks, Dr. Edgar F. Woodson, Dr. Wallace A. Fingal, Dr. A.M. Jackson, Atty. Billy Jones, and Marshall T. Dobson, all of East St. Louis; Dr. Herbert Erwin and Dr. J.S. Whittico of St. Louis; and Dr. Earle Williams of Lovejoy, Ill.

CLEVELAND CAMPAIGN GOES OVER TOP WITH 8,025 NAACP MEMBERS

October 28, 1954

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 28.--An NAACP campaign winding up here has brought in 8,025 NAACP members, surpassing its announced goal of 8,000 members, it was reported here today by Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, Association field secretary and campaign director.

During the course of the campaign an additional 26 Clevelanders have become life membership subscribers of the NAACP, Miss Mitchell said, bringing to 46 the total of such subscribers in Cleveland.

She noted that among campaign "teams" responsible for bringing in large numbers of regular members have been those working in the labor union field, in the post office, and among women's groups.

Concurrent with the Cleveland campaign, NAACP membership drives are being conducted in three other major cities: Baltimore, Chicago, and Houston, Tex.

ATTACK ON POSTMAN BRINGS ACTION BY D.C. NAACP

October 28, 1954

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 28.--The District of Columbia NAACP has announced a change of policy toward the National Association for the Advancement of White People following intervention in a case in which a Negro postman was allegedly assaulted by NAAWP Founder-President Bryant W. Boles.

A statement issued yesterday by NAACP Branch President Eugene Davidson declared that "the NAACP will use its legal committee members to protect the rights of the postman and to see that Bowles answers for the assault."

The statement noted that "the DC branch's policy of ignoring the National Association for the Advancement of White People and its founder-president Bryant W. Bowles must be changed now in the light of several overt acts by Bowles of inciting citizens to violate laws and fostering anarchy which has culminated in an alleged personal attack on a Negro postal employee."

The case of Roscoe V. Cooper, Negro postman who on Oct. 25 was allegedly beaten and kicked by Mr. Bowles while delivering his mail, has been taken by Roy Garvin, a member of the legal staff of the NAACP District of Columbia branch.

Mr. Cooper was rescued from his attacker by an elevator operator in the building and was taken to a physician, according to Mr. Davidson. He will be X-rayed later this week for possible internal injuries from being kicked by Mr. Bowles, Mr. Davidson said.

Mr. Bowles was arrested yesterday on assault charges and arraigned in municipal court here today where he asked to have his case postponed because he had not had sufficient time to get a lawyer. His request was granted, and the case is scheduled for trial on Nov. 1.

Mr. Cooper has said that the reason for the attack he has reported suffering at the hands of Mr. Bowles revolved around a dispute on whether the postman should carry the mail of the NAAWP in his postal bag or in his hand.

WALTER WHITE OFF CRITICAL LIST AFTER HEART ATTACK

October 28, 1954

NEW YORK, Oct. 28.--Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, has been taken off the critical list at New York Hospital where he was admitted on Oct. 12 after having suffered a heart attack, it was announced at NAACP headquarters here today.

The physicians caring for Mr. White have reported that he is "improving steadily" but have set no date for his leaving the hospital.

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PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
107 WEST 43 STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
President
WALTER WHITE
Secretary
ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
Treasurer

THURGOOD MARSHALL
Director and Counsel
ROBERT L. CARTER
Assistant Counsel
ARNOLD DE MILLE
Press Relations

October 26, 1954

ENGLEWOOD SCHOOL BIAS
CHARGES CITED

TRENTON, N. J. - Negro parents of Englewood, N. J., pressed their complaints of discrimination against the city's school board today before a public hearing being conducted by the State Commissioner of Education in the State House Annex.

The hearing was called by the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination after two Negro parents had filed complaints charging the Englewood Board of Education with gerrymandering school zone boundries to force the majority of Negro school children into one segregated school. Five other complaints were later filed with the DAD, but have not yet been processed. The hearing began Wednesday, October 20 and continued today.

One of the complainants, Mrs. Susan Anderson, testified that her son is forced to go to the segregated Lincoln school while white children on the same side of the street attended the all-white Liberty school.

Mrs. Walker, the first to testify, said that she registered her son Theodore in the kindergarten at the Liberty school in May 1954, but when she took him there on opening day of school in September 1954, she was told that he would have to go to the Lincoln school because the boundary lines had been changed. She had received no notification of the change.

At the beginning of the hearing last Wednesday, the Director of the State Division Against Discrimination, Dr. John Milligan, testified that in his opinion the newly drawn school zone lines did not comply with the laws of the State of New Jersey prohibiting racial segregation in the public schools.

Testifying again today, Dr. Milligan stated that he tried to get

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the Englewood school board to postpone the effective date of the new lines until the Division Against Discrimination could study the effect of the new lines, but that the board refused to postpone the effective date of September 1, 1954. The public hearing was called when the board failed to conciliate, he said.

Mrs. Anderson, the first Negro complainant, testified that the practice of segregating Negro children in Englewood is not a new one. She said she tried to send her child James, then five, to the Liberty school in 1949. He was allowed to attend the Liberty school for one month, according to her testimony, and then was transferred to the Lincoln school, without notice, where he has been attending since.

Four other Negro mothers appeared as witnesses. All testified that they had tried to enroll their children in the Liberty school but were forced to eventually take them to the segregated Lincoln school.

An expert witness for the Negro parents, Mrs. Helen G. Trager, a faculty member of Brooklyn College, Education Department, testified that the personalities of Negro children who attend segregated schools are irreparably damaged. In the case of Negro children, she said, they have the feeling of not being wanted, "not good enough to mix." "The hurt to personality is very definite", Mrs. Trager added. "They (the Negro children) do not feel they are accepted - they feel they are second-class citizens."

Mrs. Trager was one of the expert witnesses in the South Carolina school segregation case.

The hearing will continue Monday, November 1. The parents are represented by Leonard Williams of Trenton, Mrs. Constance Baker Motley and Jack Greenberg of NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund staff. Deputy Attorney General Cook represents the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

RECEIVED 11/8/54
Southern Regional

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET **NEW YORK 18, N. Y.** **LONGACRE 3-6890**

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: NOVEMBER 4, 1954

NAACP SEEKS TO SAVE LIFE OF RAPE CHARGE VICTIM

November 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 4.--Units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People throughout the country have been asked to petition Governor Charlie Johns of Florida for commutation of Walter Lee Irvin's death sentence. Execution of Irvin, one of four young Negroes convicted of the alleged rape of a young white housewife, has been set for the week of November 8.

Following announcement of the scheduled execution, Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, communicated with regional, state and local units of the Association urging them to wire the Governor at Tallahassee asking for commutation of the sentence. Other organizations and individuals were also urged to petition the Governor.

Meanwhile, Paul Perkins, NAACP lawyer in Florida, filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in an effort to secure the release of the condemned man.

Convicted by All-White Jury

Irvin was first convicted on September 3, 1949, by an all-white jury in the County Court at Tavares. Convicted with him were Samuel Shepherd and Charles Greenlee, then 16 years of age. Irvin and Shepherd were sentenced to death. Greenlee was given life imprisonment. A fourth accused youth was shot to death by a deputized mob a few hours after the alleged crime of July 16, 1949.

The charges of the woman set off a reign of terror in the Groveland area. Negro families were driven from their homes, hunted and beaten in the surrounding swamps. Their homes were burnt to the ground, their farm equipment destroyed or pillaged, their livestock scattered or stolen.

Because of the atmosphere of hostility and the inflammatory role of the press and radio in the district, NAACP attorneys Franklin H. Williams and Alex Akerman, Jr., vainly sought a change of venue and postponement of the trial.

New Trial Ordered

On appeal to the United States Supreme Court a new trial was ordered for Shepherd and Irvin. In his opinion, handed down on April 9, 1951, the late Justice

Robert H. Jackson said: "These convictions, accompanied by such events, do not meet any civilized conception of due process of law... This case presents one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice."

En route from the prison to the new trial on November 6, 1951, Shepherd was killed and Irvin critically wounded by Sheriff Willis McCall in whose custody they were. Although the two were unarmed and handcuffed together, McCall claimed that the shooting was in self-defense and was exonerated.

At Irvin's second trial in February, 1952, he was represented by Thurgood Marshall, the Association's special counsel and NAACP attorneys Perkins and Akerman of Florida, and Jack Greenberg of the New York headquarters. Although in this trial, as in the first, the prosecution failed to produce any medical evidence to support the woman's testimony, the jury again convicted him. This conviction was upheld by the Florida Supreme Court with one dissenting opinion. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the second conviction.

EMERGENCY CONFAB CALLED ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

November 4, 1954

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4.--A two-day emergency conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held here during the Thanksgiving Day week-end, November 26-27. The conference, to be attended by delegates from Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the District of Columbia, will consider problems arising out of the desegregation of public schools in those states and in Washington.

Following anti-integration demonstrations in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.; Milford, Del., and Baltimore and Washington, the NAACP Board of Directors authorized the calling of the emergency conference. An analysis of these incidents and suggestions for dealing with them will be presented by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College sociology professor.

Reports on the various incidents will be made by local representatives. T.G. Nutter of West Virginia will tell the story of White Sulphur Springs. Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson will report on Baltimore, Eugene Davidson on Washington, and John W. Flamer on Milford. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors will deliver the keynote address at the opening session, Friday.

Saturday will be devoted to discussions of ways and means of organizing community support for integration and of working with school boards to implement the program. Among speakers scheduled to address these sessions are Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president, NAACP branch, Bluefield, W. Va.; George Schermer, director, Philadelphia Fellowship Commission; Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant;

Robert L. Carter, NAACP assistant special counsel; Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, member, District of Columbia Board of Education; and Spottswood W. Robinson, III, NAACP attorney for Virginia.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES ANALYZE SCHOOL BIAS DEMONSTRATIONS

November 4, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 4.--"Weak and indecisive state officials, unprepared and unwilling to meet their obligations, gave a present-day type of Ku-Kluxism a test tube in which to dramatize a plan to disrupt school integration /in Milford, Delaware/", Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College Professor charges in the November issue of the Crisis, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. Lee, in a report of a first-hand survey of the Milford situation made by him and Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate professor of psychology at New York City College, gives a day-by-day account of the crisis as it developed there from September 8 to October 15. He analyzes the forces of bigotry, headed by Bryant Bowles, self-styled leader of an anti-integration movement and emphasizes the importance of strong civic leadership in the transition from segregation to integration.

Another study, "Foes of Integration in Baltimore and Washington", written by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of NAACP, traces the growth of the movement in those areas, reporting the anti-integration case prepared by Bryant Bowles and argued before Judge Cullen of Baltimore whose opinion declared that the Baltimore City School Board had acted legally in abolishing segregation. Mr. Mitchell declares that "events in Baltimore and Washington show that...firm law enforcement at the first sign of trouble can prevent its spread."

BIDS UNION MEN TO JOIN FIGHT TO END RACE BIAS

November 4, 1954

LAKE KIAMESHIA, N.Y., Nov. 4.--"The organized labor movement in the North as well as in the South has an obligation to assist the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in bringing about a peaceful and orderly transition from segregation to integration," Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant, told 500 delegates attending a convention of District 4 of the IUE-CIO here last we

Citing examples of school segregation in Hempstead and Freeport, L.I., and Englewood, N.J., Mr. Hill told the electrical workers that "the historic Supreme Court decision striking down segregation in publicly financed schools not only relates to the South, but is significant for many areas in the North. Their unions, he pointed out to the delegates, have many members in these communities. He urged delegates to "go beyond the hollow ritual of convention resolutions on civil rights and participate in the day-to-day struggle of the NAACP to eliminate the vicious practice of segregation and discrimination."

The Crusade for Freedom and the Fight for Freedom

By Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations, NAACP

The Crusade for Freedom is a new and different development of an old American practice of extending aid and comfort to peoples struck by disaster. Traditionally this assistance has been in the form of food, clothing and other consumer goods and health services given to the victims of earthquakes, floods, hurricanes or other natural catastrophies -- generally through the American Red Cross.

However, the Crusade for Freedom, a project of the American Heritage Foundation, is engaged in a different kind of aid. Like the Red Cross it is supported by the voluntary contributions of the American people from all sections of the country, from all classes and races. But the assistance which the Crusade has to offer is not in material things but in the realm of ideas and spiritual hope.

Instead of bundles for displaced families in disaster areas, the Crusade for Freedom seeks to keep alive the hope of some 70 million people trapped in the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain. Through the extensive facilities of Radio Free Europe and the airborne leaflet project the Crusade counteracts with factual information the Communist propaganda constantly fed to these peoples through the controlled press and radio of those countries.

85 in Tour Group

Along with 84 other representatives of some 45 national organizations I recently completed a 9,000-mile tour of inspection of the facilities of Radio Free Europe with headquarters in Munich, Germany. We also had opportunity to observe the work and varied activities of the Crusade in Europe and to learn first hand from American officials, from non-governmental representatives, from refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, and from citizens of West Germany some of the problems contributing to and stemming from the cold war.

The members of the group making the tour and the organizations they represented were different from the group with which the NAACP is usually associated. Of the 50 organizations with which the NAACP works for civil rights, only three were represented in the group - the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor and B'nai B'rith. The party consisted largely of persons from industry and commerce and from professional organizations. Among organizations represented were Chamber of Commerce, American Hotel Association, the Advertising Council, American Farm Bureau, American Legion, Kiwanis International, American Library Association, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Boy Scouts of America, U.S. Conference of

Mayors, and such fraternal organizations as Lions International, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Loyal Knights of the Round Table, Improved Order of Red Men, and others.

Highlights of Tour

Highlights of the crowded nine-day trip included a trip to the balloon launching site near the Czech border, a tour of East Berlin and a briefing in Paris by General Alfred M. Gruenther, supreme commander, Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe.

The border between Soviet-dominated Czechoslovakia and West Germany graphically issustrates one of the differences between the two countries. Immediately across the border, the land is sere, abandoned and untended. On the German side, the fields were green and fresh. Livestock grazed on the slopes and farmers tended the land. There was also a sharp contrast between the west and Soviet sectors of Berlin. There was greater evidence of business activity and the people looked more prosperous in the American, British and French sector than in the Soviet part of the city.

Like other recent travellers abroard I found great interest in race relations at home. Americans stationed abroad are made acutely aware of the status of the Negro by the often embarrassing questions of Europeans and, of course, by Communist propaganda which contains enough truth to bewilder the uninformed.

Reports on Progress

I was interviewed by the press and participated in two radio programs for translation and rebroadcast to the peoples of the satellite countries. While freely admitting that racial discrimination and segregation exist widely in American life, I was happy to be able to report substantial gains in recent years in breaking down racial barriers in education, in public service, in trade unions and professional societies, in public accommodations, in transport and, to a lesser degree, in housing and employment. I cited the Supreme Court decision in the public school cases and told them of our campaign to end all such discrimination by January 1, 1963, the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

It did not take long to realize the correlation between the Crusade for Freedom in Europe and our Fight for Freedom at home. The success of our Fight is vital to the Crusade. The more freedom flourishes at home, the more convincingly can Radio Free Europe speak to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

The elimination of segregation in America will deprive the Communists of one of their most effective weapons not only among the colored peoples of the world but also among Europeans. Our fight to end racial discrimination strengthens the voice of Radio Free Europe and inspires greater confidence among peoples who themselves have been denied basic liberties by a totalitarian state.

The Fight for Freedom at home and the Crusade for Freedom abroad are complementary one to the other.

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See P 3

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
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NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

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HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: NOVEMBER 10, 1954

NAACP IN ELEVENTH-HOUR FIGHT TO SAVE WALTER LEE IRVIN

November 10, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.--Lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are working intensely in an attempt to save a Groveland, Fla., youth from death in the electric chair for an alleged rape which the 26-year-old man consistently has maintained he did not commit.

Walter Lee Irvin was to be electrocuted during the week of Nov. 8. On Nov. 6 NAACP Attorney Frank Reeves obtained a stay of execution from the U.S. Supreme Court.

Association lawyers are now preparing a petition for writ of certiorari in the Irvin case, to be presented to the Supreme Court by Nov. 20. At that time the high court will decide whether to hear arguments for a new trial for the young prisoner.

Irvin is one of four young Negroes convicted in Florida of the alleged rape of a young white housewife. He first was convicted on Sept. 3, 1949, by an all-white jury in the County Court in Tavares.

Convicted with Irvin at his first trial were Samuel Shepherd and Charles Greenlee, then 16 years of age. Greenlee was given life imprisonment, and Irvin and Shepherd sentenced to death. The fourth accused youth was shot to death by a deputized mob a few hours after the alleged crime of July 16, 1949.

Because of the reign of violence which was precipitated in the Groveland area after the woman made her accusation, the atmosphere of hostility in the courtroom, and the provocative role of press and radio in the area, NAACP attorneys at that time sought a change of venue and postponement of the trial. This was denied.

An NAACP appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court brought an order for a new **trial** for Shepherd and Irvin. In an opinion handed down on April 9, 1951, the late Justice Robert H. Jackson said:

"These convictions, accompanied by such events, do not meet my civilized conception of due process of law ... This case presents one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice."

Shepherd was killed and Irvin wounded by Sheriff Willis McCall on their way from the prison to the new trial on Nov. 6, 1951. The two prisoners were unarmed and handcuffed together, but McCall claimed he shot them in self-defense and was exonerated

At Irvin's second tiral in Feb., 1952, as in his first trial, the prosecution failed to produce any medical evidence of the plaintiff's testimony that she had been raped. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the second conviction.

In its petition to be presented to the Supreme Court by Nov. 20, the NAACP will contend that the prosecution in the two trials of Irvin and his co-defendents refused to call to the stand a white doctor who examined the plaintiff shortly after the alleged rape took place. That doctor, the NAACP contends, could have testified that the housewife had not been criminally assaulted. The NAACP petition also will point up several other errors in the prosecution's case.

BOARD APPROVES TOBIAS' ROLE IN BANNING BOWLES AT NAACP MEET

November 10, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.--The prompt action of Dr. Channing H. Tobias, NAACP board chairman, in averting the appearance of a notorious racist at a conference of the New York State NAACP has been fully approved by the Association's Board of Directors. The board expressed unanimous agreement with its chairman's action at its regular monthly meeting, on Nov. 8.

Informed of the invitation to W. Bryant Bowles to address a week-end NAACP conference in Peekskill, Dr. Tobias, after consultation with Mrs. Effie Gordon, president of the state conference, and members of the national office staff, took immediate steps to suspend the scheduled meeting and issued a directive that "under no circumstance" should Bowles, president of the so-called National Association for the Advancement of White People, be permitted to address an NAACP meeting.

The white supremacy advocate had been invited to speak by the Peekskill branch, host to the conference, without the knowledge of state officials or the national office.

Discussing the incident in the Board meeting, Dr. Tobias made it clear that he did not consider the issue of freedom of speech involved. "Freedom of speech," he said, "does not require us to make our platform available to a man in custody of the law as Bowles was at that time or to one who openly incites violation of the law of the land as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court. Bowles is opposed to everything for which we stand."

JUDGE WARING HONORED AT CHARLESTON TESTIMONIAL

November 10, 1954

CHARLESTON, S.C. Nov. 10.--Royally received by 500 of their firends, Judge and Mrs. J. Waties Waring were given a warm welcome at a testimonial dinner here on their return to the Judge's native home for the first time after his retirement from the Federal Bench in February, 1952.

The dinner, held on November 6 under auspices of the South Carolina Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of which the Rev. James M. Hinton is president, paid tribute to Judge Waring for his historic dissenting opinion in the Clarendon County school segregation case. Judge Waring's dissent holding such segregation unconstitutional was unanimously affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in its memorable decision of May 17.

Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel, represented the NAACP national office at the dinner.

A bronze plaque presented to the jurist declared: "He set the stage for tearing asunder the fetters of racial inferiority inhumanely imposed upon certain children and the removal of the curse of racial superiority cruelly blighting the lives of other children, thus making possible -- for the first time -- an unhampered sense of belonging and brotherhood, and the full opportunity for every American child to experience true democracy in everyday living."

In a thoughtful presentation address Marion A. Wright, president of the Southern Regional Council, hailed Judge Waring as "the one South Carolina jurist whose decisions have so affected for good the lives of so many." His decisions mark him as a man who "has been loyal to this century and this age ... not to a group or a class or even a race, but to all mankind. His decisions have helped to break the shackles which bound the twentieth century to the nineteenth or even the eighteenth."

"I am sure," the speaker asserted, "I would be less than truthful if I did not express my and your conviction that his attachment for not one race but all mankind was quickened and motivated by the counsel and companionship of his noble and lovely wife."

Judge Waring, he said, "has observed Victor Hugo's injunction that a man should so live that he will be cursed by the past and blessed by the future." Mr. Wright expressed confidence that "the bench and bar of South Carolina, the State itself officially, will rectify their present omission fittingly to reward this central and dominant figure of the epic struggle" to end racial discrimination and segregation.

Reviewing Judge Waring's southern origin and associations, Mr. Wright declared that the jurist had overcome regional limitations. He has "done far more than write judicial opinions which will affect the course of life for generations. He has demonstrated in his own personality the fact that man is capable of triumphing over self. The great contribution which he has made to the lives of us all is to be found in the demonstration that, by the grace of God, an individual, regardless of how he may be circumstanced and cabined, may reach that pinnacle of moral estate in which his own identity is merged and lost in a common humanity."

NOVEMBER ELECTIONS SHOW MOST VOTERS FAVOR CIVIL RIGHTS

November 10, 1954

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 10.--The recent national elections illustrate the conviction of the majority of voters in the cause of civil rights, an NAACP official declared here this week.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington bureau, asserted: "In each state of the North and West, candidates have been elected on platforms that favor civil rights rather than platforms that oppose civil rights."

Mr. Mitchell hailed the election, in the South, of several candidates who did not run on race-hate platforms. In this category he named Kefauver of Tennessee, Sparkman of Alabama and Scott of North Carolina. He also mentioned the election of Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland as "a symbol of how injection of the race issue into a campaign can backfire."

"Governor McKeldin faced an opponent who received the support of the segregationists with open arms," Mr. Mitchell contended. "Governor McKeldin won by 60,000 votes."

Referring to Senators Kefauver, Sparkman, Scott and Gov. McKeldin as men who "no one pretends ... are great exponents of civil rights," Mr. Mitchell pointed out that nonetheless Sen. Sparkman helped write the Democratic Party civil rights platform in 1952, Sen. Kefauver supported the platform, and Sen. Scott was "accused of supporting the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools."

Mr. Mitchell addressed representatives of the Mississippi State Conference of NAACP Branches on November 7.

WESTERN NAACP TO HIT AT RACE BIAS IN FEDERAL ATOM PLANTS

November 10, 1954

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 10.--A concerted campaign by the Northwest NAACP to bring fair employment practices to federal atomic energy plants in Washington State was announced here this week by NAACP official Franklin H. Williams upon his departure for that area.

Mr. Williams, secretary-counsel for the West Coast Region of the Association, said the Western region of the NAACP is "concerned about the problem of fair employment at the government atomic energy plants in Richland and Pasco." Both are in Washington State.

He added: "NAACP leadership in Oregon and Washington are preparing themselves for an all-out effort to break down race bias in these federal plants."

Mr. Williams said he plans to address meetings in Vancouver, Washington; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle, Bremerton and Pasco, Washington.

CAMDEN, N.J., CAMPAIGN GETS 1,424 NAACP MEMBERS

November 10, 1954

CAMDEN, N.J., Nov. 10.--An annual NAACP membership campaign here has netted 1,424 NAACP members and $2,920, it was announced by Dr. U.S. Wiggins, president of the New Jersey State Conference and member of the Association's national Board of Directors.

He said this marks the tenth year in which the Camden branch of the NAACP has exceeded its membership quota of 1,000 members.

The campaign was conducted under the direction of John W. Flamer, NAACP field secretary.

NAACP CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE GETS $3,533

November 10, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.--A total of $3,533 has been reported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for its Fight for Freedom campaign, in the fortnight ending today.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to end all race discrimination and segregation in America by January 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Branch contributions to the campaign during the fortnight were: Lake Charles, La., $1,000; the Virginia State Conference of Branches, $2,000; Weldon, N.C., $100; Jackson, Miss., $250; Perry, Okla., $25; Meridian, Miss., $50; Miami, Fla., $25; Hyde County, N.C., $8.

In addition, the campaign received $75 in miscellaneous contributions.

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NEWS FROM
NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: NOVEMBER 24, 1954

NAACP EXECUTIVE LEAVES HOSPITAL

November 24, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 24.--Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has returned to his East Side residence where he is "doing well" his physicians report. The NAACP executive was admitted to New York Hospital on Oct. 12. He remained there until Nov. 20. Although showing steady improvement, Mr. White is not yet permitted to see visitors.

MADISON JONES BACK IN NAACP POSITION

November 24, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 24.--The return of Madison S. Jones to the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was announced this week by Roy Wilkins, administrator. Mr. Jones, a veteran NAACP worker, has been assigned to the branch department as a field secretary working under direction of Gloster B. Current, head of the department.

In March, 1951, Mr. Jones took leave of absence from his NAACP position as administrative assistant to become a racial relations advisor in the Federal Housing Administration. He resigned from government service last spring to become an associate in the newly organized Correspondent Service Corporation, an FHA-approved mortgagee.

Mr. Jones first joined the NAACP staff as youth secretary in 1940, a position he held until 1942. He returned as administrative assistant in 1945.

NAACP YOUTH TO HOLD LEGISLATIVE MEETING

November 24, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 24.--The second annual National Youth Legislative Conference will be held on the campus of Howard University in Washington, next Feb. 3-6, Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary, announced this week. The young people will devote themselves to an intensive study of the problems of school integration stemming from the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 17 holding public school segregation unconstitutional

WRIGHT NAMED TO YOUTH UNIT

November 24, 1954

CHICAGO, Nov. 24.--Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary, was unanimously elected to a special seven-man national advisory committee on young adult education to the Adult Education Association at the recent meeting of the AEA in Chicago. During the session Mr. Wright participated in a symposium and later presented a paper on "Methodology in Effective Democratic Operations."

LOCALE OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION TROUBLE GETS NAACP BRANCH

November 24, 1954

NEW YORK, Nov. 24.--A new branch of the NAACP has been chartered in Greenbrier County, W. Va., scene of a recent school integration disturbance, it was announced here today by Gloster B. Current, director of branches for the Association.

Early in September the school board in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., in Greenbrier County, reversed its decision to integrate local schools in line with the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public education after white parents and students demonstrated against the entrance of Negro pupils into the formerly all-white high school.

Mr. Current said 12 additional NAACP branches located in nine states were chartered as new units of the Association at a meeting of the national Board of Directors on Nov. 8.

These branches are in Brundidge and Fayette, Ala.; Weed, Calif.; Tensas Parish, La.; Queen Anne County, Md.; Glen Cove, N.Y.; Columbus County and Stanley, N.C.; Zanesville, Ohio; Clinton, Okla.; and Oconee County and Varnville, S.C.

Mr. Current noted that 94 new branches have been chartered by the NAACP Board of Directors since the first of the year.

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NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
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FOR RELEASE: DECEMBER 2, 1954

NAACP PROTESTS REMAKE OF "BIRTH OF A NATION" FILM

December 2, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 2.--The proposal to remake the Ku Klux Klan film, "The Birth of a Nation" today brought vigorous protest from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In a telegram to Ted Thal who reportedly heads the group sponsoring the revival, Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, urged reconsideration of the proposal to make a new version of the Thomas Dixon novel which "slanders the entire Negro American population through its naked incitement to racial hatred and violence."

The NAACP, Mr. Wilkins said, "is as uncompromisingly opposed to this film today as it was when the picture was first released in 1915." The Association actively campaigned against the showing of the original version and succeeded in having it banned in many cities.

The text of the NAACP telegram follows:

> Announcement of plan to revive the notorious Ku Klux Klan Film "The Birth of a Nation" is cause for deep concern to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and others who know of the great damage the original version did in slandering the entire Negro American population through its naked incitement to racial hatred and violence. It is now more than seventy-five years since the period depicted in "The Clansman" on which the film is based, and forty years since the first film was released. The revival of the unashamed and undisguised racial animosities of that era in the middle of the twentieth century following two world wars and unparalleled progress in race relations can do little except to inflame the still uninformed.
>
> In the present climate of American and world opinion such a film in color and on wide screen would be a throwback. In the light of the May 17 decision of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases and its impact upon our country and the world, the new film version of this inflammatory novel cannot escape being regarded as an effort on the part of some group or groups to encourage the 1876 rather than the 1955 view of Negroes as American citizens and as a roadblock to the orderly and just attainment of rights. The NAACP is as uncompromisingly opposed to this film today as it was when the picture was first released in 1915. We accordingly urge you to reconsider your present proposal.

NAACP APPOINTS TWO TO HELP BRING SOUTHERN SCHOOL COMPLIANCE

December 2, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 2.--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has appointed two new field secretaries to assist local NAACP branches in securing compliance with the Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools, it was announced here today by Roy Wilkins, Association administrator.

The new staff members are Edwin C. Washington, Jr., of Dallas, Tex., and Medgar Evers of Mound Bayou, Miss. Mr. Washington will be assistant field secretary for the Southwest region, and Mr. Evers for the State of Mississippi. They will work under supervision of Gloster B. Current, director of branches.

The Southwest region of the NAACP comprises Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas, and maintains headquarters in Dallas. Mr. Washington, who was associated with the Dallas NAACP branch and employed by the U.S. Post Office, attended Prairie View (Tex.) A and M College.

Mr. Evers, former agency director for the Magnolia Mutual Life Insurance company in Mound Bayou, Miss., is an alumnus of Alcorn (Miss.) A and M College.

Mr. Current pointed out that the appointment of Mr. Washington and Mr. Evers brings to a total of four the persons who recently have been employed by the NAACP to carry out a directive of the national Board of Directors calling for assistance to Association branches in "a greatly expanded program of community action to implement the Supreme Court's decision [on public schools] on the local level."

Other recent appointments to the NAACP staff were those of Charles W. Greenlea, assigned to the State of Georgia, and Madison S. Jones, assigned to general field work. The National Association now employs 12 field secretaries and three regional secretaries.

DROP CHARGES AGAINST TWO SERVICE WORKERS

December 2, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 2.--Dismissal charges against two civilian employees of the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency in Brooklyn have been dropped and adjustment in the status of other Negro workers at the installation have been promised following intervention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Miss Ethel Jones and Miss Phyllis McLaurin were assured of withdrawal of dismissal charges against them after Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant, had conferred for six hours with Col. Howard F. Currie, chief of the agency; Col. John E. Haughey, inspector-general of the agency; Captain Alfred Eyer, U.S. Navy; and Lt. William E. Hogan, special assistant to the chief of agency, representing the U.S. Air Force.

In response to Mr. Hill's charge that the dismissal actions stemmed from racial bias, Col. Currie said that the actions were "errors" which developed as a result of "poor administration" rather than manifestations of racial prejudice. The Colonel promised to initiate a five-point program to curb interracial tensions within the agency. Mr. Hill is to meet with agency officials in February to review developments within the agency and to make additional proposals.

CORPORATION STOCKHOLDERS CAN HELP SPEED EXIT OF JIM CROW

December 2, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 2.--The use of corporation stockholder meetings as a forum to urge revision of the corporation's discriminatory race practices is described in a current national magazine by a man who attended one such meeting of the W. T. Grant company and thereby changed a segregation policy of that company.

Writing in The Crisis, official publication of the NAACP, New Yorker James Peck notes that "one share of stock will get you into any /stockholders'/ meeting." He declares that this method of protest could be used with effective results "against corporations with discriminatory employment policies."

In an article entitled "Minority Stockholders vs. Jim Crow," Mr. Peck relates that in 1948 he was present at a shareholders' meeting of the W. T. Grant company, accompanied by a newspaper reporter.

He distributed a statement criticizing the company's segregated restaurant facilities in Baltimore, he says, and raised the issue personally toward the end of the meeting.

"When a company gets behind the times it inevitably loses business to its competitors," Mr. Peck told the Grant stockholders. "/Grant's in Baltimore/ adheres to the now-outmoded policy of refusing to seat Negroes /in its restaurant/. As a result, Grant's is losing Negro business and creating ill-will in public relations."

"When I had finished speaking," Mr. Peck reports, "Lustenberger, who chaired the meeting, promised that the company would look into the matter."

"A week after the stockholders' meeting," the author continues, "Lustenberger wrote the Baltimore Committee of Racial Equality announcing that hereafter Grant's eating facilities in Baltimore would be open to all, regardless of color."

Alfred Baker Lewis, a member of the NAACP Board of Directors, describes the new tactics by which the Communists are seeking to infiltrate NAACP branches and units of other liberal organizations. Mr. Lewis warns that any cooperation with Communists "is financially and practically foolish as well as morally wrong."

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Staff Counsel —
H.7 —
F.R —
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NEWS FROM

NAACP

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FOR RELEASE: DECEMBER 9, 1954

CHURCHES CALL FOR SUPPORT OF COURT'S SEGREGATION RULING

December 9, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 9.--Pronouncements of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and of the Protestant Episcopal Church calling for support of the Supreme Court's decision banning segregation in public schools were hailed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as indications of the important role of the church in the fight against racial segregation.

Meeting in Greenwich, Conn., this week the Episcopal church's national council unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon its various units to help promote "a wide, wholehearted and genuine realization" of the Court's ruling which was termed "just, right and necessary."

Previously, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, holding its third biennial assembly in Boston, issued a declaration which, among other things, asserted that "it is the responsibility and opportunity of each local church to create the attitudes essential to carrying out this decision." The declaration "deplored all efforts to circumvent the Supreme Court decision" and called upon "all Christian churches to help make the transition from a segregated to a nonsegregated society not only in the public schools but throughout the community, in such matters as housing and especially in the life and practice of the church itself."

At this assembly the Council elected Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the AME Church a vice president of the council and named him vice chairman of its executive committee. Congratulating Bishop Nichols on his election, Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, said: "In your new office you will be in a strategic position to give substantial aid to the Council in implementing its splendid declaration ... The church can be a vital force in awakening the conscience of America to the evil of racial discrimination and segregation. Your election to a top policy-making position in the Council gives us added assurance that every effort will be made to see that its declaration will be carried out."

DIXIE'S SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEM IS DOOMED -- NAACP

DO NOT RELEASE BEFORE 3:00,
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12

COLUMBUS, Miss., Dec. 12.--This state, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina will "fail in their objective of preserving separate schools for Negroes and whites," it was forecast here today by an NAACP national officer.

Addressing the NAACP's Southeast Regional Advisory Board, Gloster B. Current, the Association's director of branches, predicted a "weakened financial condition" for the schools of any state attempting to circumvent the Supreme Court decision banning segregated schools.

Mr. Current, asserted: "School systems which are financed through out-of-state bonds and long-term investments will find that these securities will be unmarketable throughout the nation.

"Georgia has already experienced difficulty in that its school revenue certificates offered for sale in Ohio have been declared ineligible investments."

He said Mississippi schools "are already in a weakened financial condition." Mr. Current noted that he referred to "amendments to state constitutions adopted in Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina and the amendment to be voted on in Mississippi on Dec. 21, including the proposal of the Georgia Education Commission to preserve separate schools by special assignment of pupils, educational grants, prohibition of state and local funds to mixed schools, [and] creation of special attendance districts..."

He urged southern citizens, school administrators and religious leaders "not to allow politicans and bigots to influence them to sacrifice their schools on the altar of race prejudice."

Pointing up the positive side of the southern public school situation, the NAACP official declared that "integration will work in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and other states in this region if the public officials, including the governors and members of the state legislatures ... adopt law-abiding, progressive attitudes" on the school issue.

"The majority of the citizens in the South are law-abiding," he maintained.

Integration is working successfully in the schools of several southern states, including Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia and Delaware, he reported.

Commenting on the organization of so-called citizens' councils and "other hate groups" in this state for the purpose of bringing economic and other forms of pressure upon Negro leaders, Mr. Current asserted that the NAACP "will use every legal means at its disposal to combat these tactics by bigots and others resorting to ... frantic efforts to circumvent the Court's ruling."

He said the NAACP also "will continue to oppose" all state constitutional amendments designed to deprive Negroes of the ballot, in this state as well as others.

The Regional Advisory Board meeting was attended by NAACP state presidents and other officers from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina, representing 50,000 members in the area.

MONTH'S DONATIONS TO NAACP CIVIL RIGHTS CRUSADE TOTAL $13,635

December 9, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 9.--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has reported a total of $13,635.95 in contributions to its Fight for Freedom campaign for the month of November. The sum includes payments on life memberships in the Association.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to speed up the organization's civil rights work to achieve full rights for minority groups in American life by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

In addition to donations received from individuals and organizations, NAACP funds were enriched by contributions from 44 local branches of the Association, two state conferences and two youth councils. These contributions from NAACP units came to $5,814.45.

Aside from Association units, the largest single donation during November was sent by the Cornerstone Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., in the amount of $500. The next largest donation was that of Mr. and Mrs. A.S. Coolidge of Cambridge, Mass., who forwarded $250 to the Fight for Freedom campaign.

Other contributions were: Wilbur Halyard, Milwaukee, Wis., who has pledged $1,000 to the NAACP and who sent $100 for November; General Diaper Service, Inc., New York, Dr. William A. Thompson, Detroit, Mich., $50 each; and a number of individuals and organizations whose contributions of $25 or less totalled $261.50.

NAACP branch, state conference and youth council contributions to the national Fight for Freedom campaign for November were: Kansas City, Mo., $1,356; Milwaukee, Wis., $750; Alabama State Conference of Branches, $500; Jamaica, N.Y., $450; Oklahoma City, Okla., Lafayette, La., and Wichita, Kans., $200; Saginaw, Mich., $134; Crossett, Ark., Crittenden County, Ark., Pine Bluff, Ark., Georgetown, S.C., and Media, Pa., $100 each; the Orange, N.J., youth council, $150;

Albuquerque, N.M., $145; Atlantic City, N.J., $102.70; Lake Village, Ark., $75; McCurtain, Okla., $73; Cotton Plant, Ark., $70; Kenosha, Wis., Seminole, Okla., Dermott, Ark., Little Rock, Ark., Enid, Okla., Williamsport, Pa., Oberlin, Ohio, and Thomasville, N.C., $50 each; Bronx, N.Y., $56.30; and the New Mexico State Conference of Branches, $48.31.

An additional 19 branches contributed amounts of $25 or less, totalling $402.99.

NAACP ASKS NEW YORK FOR FUNDS FOR FARM LABOR CHILD CENTERS

December 9, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 9.--Dean Paul H. Appleby, who will serve as director of the budget in the new administration of Governor-elect W. Averell Harriman of New York, has been urged to include in the state's new budget an item of $10,000 for a child day care center and school program for the children of migrant farm workers in the state.

The request was made by Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant on the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "In many ways the children of migratory farm workers are educationally famished and denied opportunity to realize the potential of full personality development," Mr. Hill said in a letter to the recently appointed budget director.

For this reason, he pointed out, "the NAACP requests that you support an item in the State Education Department budget for an appropriation of $10,000 for a migratory school program... The establishment of child day care centers in the heavily populated migratory work areas would result in greater compliance and enforcement of the child labor act."

NAACP GAINS 12 LIFE MEMBERS; FORTY-FIVE MAKE PAYMENT

December 9, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 9.--Twelve persons and organizations became life members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during November, according to a report made public today.

An additional 45 individuals and organizations became NAACP life membership subscribers by making a partial payment on a $500 life membership.

Among the new life members are two church dignitaries. They are Bishop Luther Stewart of the CME Church, Hopkinsville, Ky., and Father Archibald V. McLees, Pastor of Holy Rosary Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn, N.Y.

The other new life members are: Ahmad C. El, Columbus, Ohio; the New York Chapter of the Girl Friends, Inc.; the Mutual Chemical Company, New York; a Grand Lodge of Prince Hall Masons in Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Lucinda B. Robey, Birmingham, Ala.; Hyman M. Cohen, Boston; the Chicago Branch of the National Alliance of Postal

Employees; Thomas Johnson, Portland, Ore.; and Morton Grossman, Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Those who made an initial payment on an NAACP life membership are: A.D. Shores, Birmingham, Ala.; the First Aid Auxiliary of Pleasant Grove Baptist Church, Wendell, N.C.; Dr. B.B. Martin, Memphis, Tenn.; Mrs. William Horowitz, New Haven, Conn. Conn.; Mrs. Hattie A. Van Buren, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Herman Wolf, Chicago; Mrs. John D. Gordan, New York; the Belle Tan Social and Civic Club of New Haven, Conn.; Dr. T.E. Dixon, Temple, Tex.; Dr. A.T. Braithwaite, Waco, Tex.; Theodore L. Miller, New Orleans, La.

Thirty-two persons and organizations in Cleveland, Ohio, made initial payments on life memberships. They are: Charles P. Lucas, the Rev. Wade H. McKinney, Dr. Nathan K. Christopher, Irving Franklin, Jr., Mrs. Mary Hilton, Albert Liggins, Harvey Norton, Robery Riffe, the Shiloh Baptist Church, John Waller, J.W. Wills, John W. Carmack, Crayton's Southern Sausage Company, Mrs. Lina Derritt, the Rev. William Downs, Robert Ellis, and Dr. Armen G. Evans.

Also: Mrs. Lillie Gorman, John W. Kellogg, Miss Ada Lieffingwell, Dr. James Levy, Emmett Meade, Lawrence O. Payne, Dr. W. F. Richie, Thomas J. Robinson, Mrs. Beulah Slaughter, Jesse Smith, Dr. Bertrand C. Styles, Page M. Sumpter, William K. Willis, Alonzo Wright, and David A. Wynne.

ASKS BAN ON RACIAL TAGS BY MOTOR VEHICLE BUREAU

December 9, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 9.--The New York State Commission Against Discrimination has again been urged to take effective steps to halt the practice of the State Motor Vehicle Bureau of asking for racial designations on official applications.

The request was made by Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at a meeting SCAD held last week with representatives of various organizations. Mr. Hill had made a similar request last year. The bureau has continued the practice claiming that it serves a valid purpose of identification.

In response to this contention, Mr. Hill told the commission that "a far more pressing reason for removing the racial designation is the fact that Negro citizens are forced to pay higher insurance rates and that this practice inflicts an indignity upon hundreds of thousands of New York citizens."

The NAACP representative made recommendations for improved procedures in the operation of the Commission and discussed six cases presented to SCAD by the NAACP. These cases included complaints of discrimination against both private management and trade unions.

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"THIS IS JUST A WIDOW'S MITE,"

December 9, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 9.--"This is just a widow's mite," the letter said. "God bless you all. Pray for me."

The message was one of a number received recently at the NAACP national office from persons purchasing the Association's 1954 holiday seals.

A ninety-one-year-old woman wrote: "...Thank you. God bless you and our beloved country."

Another letter declared: "We want to congratulate you on the success of your long and gallant campaign which resulted in the decision of the Supreme Court, and hope the decision can be implemented without too much bitterness and conflict."

A man correspondent congratulated the Association on its choice of design for the holiday seals because "the torch of knowledge and progress /is/ an excellent design this year."

"As a retired college teacher, I am financially unable to meet the membership and contribution requests from worthy causes that are flooding my desk," said another letter-writer. "I shall continue to laud your organization to friends and acquaintances."

WHITE BACK ON AIR; WARNS POLITICIANS

FOR RELEASE AFTER 5 P.M. SATURDAY, DEC. 11

NEW YORK, Dec. 11--In his first broadcast since he became ill two months ago, Walter White executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, charged that "vigorous efforts are being made to purchase peace at any price between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic party which may cost the Democrats dearly in their frantic efforts to heal the breach."

Mr. White made his comment in a recorded statement broadcast today by radio station WLIB in New York and by affiliated stations in other cities. In his talk he raised questions about the recent meeting of the Democratic National Committee in New Orleans and developmets within the party since 1952.

"Through no merit of their own," he said, "southerners will be chairmen ... of almost the majority of committees of the Senate and the House. The Democrats held their Senate ranks unbroken during the recent McCarthy censure fight only by promising to Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi the chairmanship of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee..."

Mr. White reviewed the current political situation and its impact upon Negro voters and concluded that "there is a good likelihood that many congressional districts will go one way or the other in 1956 on the basis of the stand the Republican party, including members of the Congress as well as of the administration, on the basic issues of human rights."

The NAACP executive is steadily improving in health. He has not yet returned to his desk, but keeps contact with the office and his many activities while remaining at home under doctors' orders.

....

Mrs. M.E.T. ✓
H.F. ✓
A.H. –

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Southern Regional Council

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET — **NEW YORK 18, N. Y.** — **LONGACRE 3-6890**

WALTER WHITE, *EXECUTIVE SECRETARY*
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HENRY LEE MOON, *DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS*

FOR RELEASE: DECEMBER 16, 1954

NAACP AID OFFERED TO MISSISSIPPI VICTIMS

December 16, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.--Negro leaders in Mississippi have been assured of the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in meeting the economic pressures being exerted against NAACP members and other advocates of integration in the state.

The NAACP, Roy Wilkins, administrator, said in a letter to Dr. T.R.M. Howard of Mound Bayou, president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, is exploring the possibility of joining with "other agencies and individuals in devising a financial formula through regular banking channels which would provide relief for those small businessmen, farmers, homeowners and others who have legitimate claims and are sound risks, but who have been refused credit by Mississippi financial institutions" because of their stand against segregation.

Charter limitations, Mr. Wilkins' letter points out, prevent the NAACP from making "direct loans or otherwise entering into the banking business." However, he wrote, "we expect that as soon as the mechanics can be arranged through a bank in the area the program will go forward."

The request of the Mississippians for assistance was the subject of extended consideration at the regular monthly meeting of the NAACP Board of Directors on Dec. 13. A committee was appointed to develop a plan of action for assisting the victims of economic reprisals by white bankers, businessmen, retail merchants, school boards and others who want to decapitate the movement against segregation in Mississippi.

Organized into so-called white citizens' councils these segregationists have threatened foreclosure of mortgages, denied credit, and refused employment to persons who challenge the status quo in race relations in that state. Their activities have been branded "economic thuggery" by the influential Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.

In Mississippi, if "49 per cent of the population is denied legitimate and deserved credit, the other 51 per cent of the population can hardly enjoy a profit on its various commercial and business transactions, whether these be on the corner grocery store level or on the banking operation level," Mr. Wilkins points out in his letter to Dr. Howard.

"Our study of this aspect is not detailed or complete," the NAACP official asserts, "but we are sure that the Negro citizens of Mississippi are not unaware of the significance of their economic power as a weapon of defense."

VARIETY HITS REMAKE OF "BIRTH OF A NATION" FILM

December 16, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.--The campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to forestall the re-making of the notorious anti-Negro film "The Birth of a Nation", has received the editorial support of Variety, a leading publication of the entertainment industry.

"It seems fairly evident," Variety asserts, "that no picture can possibly dare, at this late date, to glorify the thoroughly discredited Ku Klux Klan which was -- let it not be forgotten -- also against Jews and Catholics. Too wide a segment of the population would be offended. Sheer economic self-interest dictates that the new shooting script must bear little or no resemblance to Griffith's. Nor can it be overlooked that America's 15,000,000 Negroes today are a respected and courted five-billion-dollar market. And big filmgoers. On top of all the economic factors, there is, of course, the factor of morality and social responsibility."

In a lengthy story in its December 8 edition, Variety reviews the NAACP's long fight against the film and quotes Roy Wilkins' wire protesting the proposal to remake the picture, which in the original production "slandered the entire Negro American population through its naked incitement to racial hatred and violence."

Announcement of the proposal to bring out a new version of "The Birth of a Nation," Variety asserts, was "greeted in New York film circles with plenty of surprise and considerable consternation..."

Meanwhile in Hollywood, Phil L. Ryan, a member of the syndicate which purchased rights to the story, indicated that an entire new script would be written and declared that the NAACP protest was "premature" inasmuch as the story had not yet been rewritten for the new production.

At NAACP headquarters in New York the opinion was expressed that nothing would remain of the film except its title if the anti-Negro theme and the glorification of the KKK were deleted. In a telegram to Mr. Wilkins, Ted Thal, head of the syndicate, proposed a conference between Mr. Ryan and an NAACP representative.

NAACP "GRIEVED AND SHOCKED" BY PASSING OF ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

December 16, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.--The death of Arthur Garfield Hays, famed civil rights lawyer of New York City, "profoundly shocked and grieved" the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White, executive secretary, said in a telegram of condolence to the jurist's two daughters, Mrs. Lora Hays Spindell and

Mrs. Jane Hays Butler.

Mr. Hays was a member of the Association's national legal committee and participated with the late Clarence Darrow for the defense in the Sweet case in Detroit in 1924. This case reaffirmed the right of a Negro to defend his home against assault by a hate-inspired mob. Also with Mr. Darrow, he entered the Scottsboro case in 1931.

"The brilliant defense which he put up in these and other cases," Mr. White said, "helped to formulate the highly successful campaign of the NAACP, aided by other organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, to reduce bigotry to the extent to which it has been today. We mourn his passing and send you our most sincere sympathy."

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS DONATE $302 TO NAACP FREEDOM FIGHT

December 16, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.--The NAACP Fight for Freedom fund was enlarged this week by $302, the contribution of the students of the Elizabeth Irwin High School of New York. Presentation of the contribution, climaxing a three-week drive, was made this week to Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary, by David Eliscu, president of the student body and Stephan Grotz, student chairman of the drive.

Thanking the students for their contribution, Mr. Wright expressed the hope that the Irwin High drive would stimulate other students throughout the country to join the Fight for Freedom and help finance the desegregation program.

MAGAZINE SURVEYS PROGRESS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

December 16, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.--The progress and problems in desegregating the nation's public schools are summarized in an article, "Desegregation at Work" by Henry Lee Moon in the December 18 issue of The Nation, liberal weekly journal of opinion.

Mr. Moon, public relations director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, surveys the steps taken, the resistance encountered and success attained in school desegregation since the Supreme Court's historic decision of May 17 banning the dual school system.

NON-SEGREGATION URGED AT HOUSING CONFERENCE

December 16, 1954

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.--"It is evident that private industry has no intention of providing housing on a non-segregated basis," Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, declared after participating in the Conference on Minority Housing which was attended by representatives of the building industry, government, and minority groups.

The conference, called by Albert Cole, administrator of the government's Housing and Home Finance Agency, met here Dec. 9-10. On behalf of the NAACP, Mr. Mitchell urged the adoption of a policy by the government which would "require that builders, lenders and any others who receive federal aid of any kind for housing programs agree that renters or buyers will not be denied such housing on the basis of race."

Further Mr. Mitchell urged a contractual requirement "that all housing and other facilities such as parks, playgrounds or hospitals erected or developed on land assembled through loans or grants under the slum clearance, urban redevelopment and urban renewal programs be open to all renters, buyers or users without regard to race."

NAACP HELPS NEW CITIZEN GET OUT-OF-JOB BENEFIT

December 16, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.--Intervention by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has secured unemployment compensation for a woman employee who had been dismissed because she took time off from her job to participate in naturalization ceremonies in connection with becoming an American citizen.

Miss Mary Wallace, a native of the British West Indies, was dismissed by her employer because she took time off to be sworn in as an American citizen on November 11. She was at first denied unemployment compensation on the ground that she had been fired because of "disrespect to her superior."

Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant, interceded on her behalf with the New York State Department of Labor as a result of which the department's division of unemployment insurance reversed its earlier decision and awarded retroactive unemployment compensation to Miss Wallace.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE:
DECEMBER 22, 1954

NAACP APPEALS TO PRESIDENT TO HALT MISSISSIPPI TERROR

December 22, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 22.--President Eisenhower has been asked to intervene to counteract the "undisguised economic intimidation" of Negro businessmen, farmers and homeowners in Mississippi by certain white bankers, merchants and lending agents.

The request for White House intervention was embodied in a telegram to the President from Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Dr. Tobias' telegram, made public here today, also asked for a conference with the President "for the presentation of factual evidence and a full discussion of this new threat to the well-being of our country."

"Negro leadership in Mississippi," the NAACP message charged, "is being subjected to undisguised economic intimidation admittedly designed to curb civil rights and particularly to discourage registration and voting and to force abandonment of efforts to secure peaceful compliance with the May 17 ruling of the United States Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in public schools."

The movement to use economic pressure to suppress demands by Negroes for an end to segregation was initiated by so-called citizens councils first organized in Mississippi. Recently, efforts have been made to extend the movement into Alabama and other southern states. Primarily, the movement has been aimed at NAACP state and local leaders. However, others who assert their citizenship rights have also been victimized.

The text of the NAACP telegram to the White House, dated Dec. 20, follows:

> BECAUSE OF A SERIOUS SITUATION IN MISSISSIPPI NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE WOULD APPRECIATE A CONFERENCE WITH YOU AT YOUR EARLY CONVENIENCE TO INDICATE WHAT REMEDIAL ACTION CAN AND SHOULD BE TAKEN. NEGRO LEADERSHIP IN MISSISSIPPI IS BEING SUBJECTED TO UNDISGUISED ECONOMIC INTIMIDATION ADMITTEDLY DESIGNED TO CURB CIVIL RIGHTS

AND PARTICULARLY TO DISCOURAGE REGISTRATION AND VOTING AND TO FORCE ABANDONMENT OF EFFORTS TO SECURE PEACEFUL COMPLIANCE WITH THE MAY SEVENTEENTH RULING OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT OUTLAWING RACIAL SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS. REPORTS FROM MEMBERS OF OUR STAFF IN THE STATE INDICATE BANKS AND OTHER PRIVATE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS ARE CONSPIRING TO PUT THE SQUEEZE ON NEGRO FARMERS, BUSINESSMEN AND HOMEOWNERS WHO ARE ACTIVE IN THE NAACP BY FORECLOSING THEIR MORTGAGES, DEMANDING FULL AND PROMPT PAYMENT OF INDEBTEDNESS, AND REFUSING CREDIT.

THESE AND OTHER ACTS OF INTIMIDATION HAVE BEEN INITIATED BY SO-CALLED CITIZENS COUNCILS RECENTLY ORGANIZED IN MANY OF THE STATE'S COUNTIES. THESE COUNCILS, ACCORDING TO STATE REPRESENTATIVE WILMA SLEDGE OF SUNFLOWER COUNTY, ARE "COMPOSED OF RELIABLE WHITE MALE CITIZENS....ORGANIZED FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF MAINTAINING SEGREGATION OF THE RACES." THEY SEEK THIS GOAL THROUGH THE "APPLICATION OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE TO TROUBLEMAKERS." THE MONTGOMERY (ALA.) ADVERTISER CHARACTERIZES THE COUNCILS' METHODS AS "RASH, INDECENT AND VICIOUS." THIS LEADING SOUTHERN DAILY QUOTES A COUNCIL SPOKESMAN AS SAYING "WE INTEND TO MAKE IT DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, FOR ANY NEGRO WHO ADVOCATES DESEGREGATION TO FIND AND HOLD A JOB, GET CREDIT, OR RENEW A MORTGAGE." WE BELIEVE THESE ECONOMIC PURGES WARRANT THE ATTENTION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. WE URGE YOU TO DIRECT THE APPROPRIATE FEDERAL AGENCIES TO MAKE SUCH INVESTIGATION AS MAY BE NEEDED AND TO MAKE THEIR FACILITIES READILY AVAILABLE TO NEGRO CITIZENS NOW BEING PERSECUTED BECAUSE THEY SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. WE ARE VITALLY CONCERNED WITH THE MORAL ISSUE CONFRONTING OUR COUNTRY.

WE BELIEVE THAT A PUBLIC STATEMENT FROM YOU FOLLOWED BY CORRECTIVE ACTION WOULD BE A PROPER EXERCISE OF THE MORAL SUASION INHERENT IN THE HIGH OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY OF A FREE PEOPLE. THERE CAN BE NO FREEDOM WHERE PRIVATELY ORGANIZED GROUPS BRAZENLY SEEK TO CONTROL THE HOPES, ATTITUDES, SPEECH AND ACTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS THROUGH WHAT THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER APTLY CALLS "ECONOMIC THUGGERY." FOR THE LAW ABIDING VICTIMS OF THIS TERROR WE PRAY SWIFT AND AUTHORITATIVE RELIEF. IN THIS GRAVE CIRCUMSTANCE WE RESPECTFULLY SEEK AND URGE A CONFERENCE WITH YOU FOR PRESENTATION OF FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND A FULL DISCUSSION OF THIS NEW THREAT TO THE WELL BEING OF OUR COUNTRY.

Wilkins Says

MIRACLE NEEDED TO MAKE HATE FILM ACCEPTABLE

December 22, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 22.--If the sponsors of the proposed new version of "The Birth of A Nation" can produce a film based upon Thomas Dixon's novel, "The Clansman" which will be "palatable to American Negroes in 1955" they will have performed a "miracle", Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, said today in a letter to Ted Thal who, with Phil L. Ryan, heads the West Coast syndicate which has bought the film rights to the story.

In response to an earlier telegram protesting the remaking of the notorious anti-Negro film, Mr. Thal had indicated that a new script would be written and suggested a conference at a later date with the NAACP West Coast representative. While agreeing to such a conference, Mr. Wilkins informed Mr. Thal that "our discussion with you would not be upon the basis of modification, but on dropping the project altogether."

It is difficult, the NAACP executive said, "to see how the picture could be made without incorporating its principal theme which is the inherent inferiority of the Negro and his unfitness to be regarded as a man. The original novel and the script made from it have no story to tell except this one. The Klan is glorified as the answer to the Negro's attempt to assume the status of a man and a citizen with the rights, privileges and dignity of other men. The Negro is depicted as an ignorant, depraved animal. The Klan is held up as the proper weapon with which to control, if not exterminate, this animal."

Because Mr. Thal was reported to be a distributor for the Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation, Mr. Wilkins directed an inquiry to J.P. Thomas, the corporation's vice-president, as to Mr. Thal's connection with the glass company.

"We are sure that you can appreciate our desire for accurate information as to the sponsors of this proposal before we proceed in our efforts to discourage by all lawful means the remaking of this notorious anti-Negro, pro-Ku Klux Klan film," the NAACP executive said in a letter to Mr. Thomas.

WALTER WHITE TO REPORT TO NAACP ANNUAL MEETING

December 22, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 22.--Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is scheduled to make his first public appearance since his hospitalization last October at the Association's 45th annual meeting here on January 3, 1955.

Mr. White and other staff members will report to the membership on the activities of the year. Ballots in the election of members to the Board of Directors will be opened and counted and the successful candidates announced. There are 19 candidates for 16 vacancies. They will be elected to serve three years. The annual meeting, presided over by Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP president, will be followed by a meeting of the Board and the election of officers of the Association.

Staff members making reports at the meeting will include, in addition to Mr. White, Roy Wilkins, administrator; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations; Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau; Edward R. Dudley, special assistant in charge of Fight for Freedom Fund; James W. Ivy, editor, The Crisis; and Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant.

HOW TO WORK WITH SCHOOL BOARDS TOLD BY NAACP DELAWARE LEADER

December 22, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 22.--Wagner D. Jackson, president of the Wilmington, Del., branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reports on "Working with School Boards to Implement Desegregation" in the January issue of The Crisis, official organ of the NAACP.

Any committee assigned to such a responsibility must have adequate information on the school laws of the state, the operations of the board, and the policy of the NAACP. Mr. Wagner's article tells how the NAACP went about this task in Delaware.

Other interesting articles include a report on the Gold Coast, West Africa, by George Padmore, journalist and author; an account of successful steps taken to end discrimination in a Chicago hospital by Vern and Bonnie Bullough, leaders in the movement; and a recapitulation of the NAACP position on colonialism and international affairs.

MITCHELL PROTESTS JIM CROW AT NAVY-MISSISSIPPI GAME

December 22, 1954

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22--Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has protested to the Navy because Negroes will be segregated in the Sugar Bowl at New Orleans where the Naval Academy's eleven is scheduled to meet the Mississippi University team on New Year's Day.

Tickets being sold limit choice seats to Caucasians only. To go along with such a restriction "would cause gross violation of the Navy policy of racial integration," Mr. Mitchell told Navy officials.

BROWNELL URGED TO HALT HOUSING SEGREGATION

December 22, 1954

NEW YORK, Dec. 22.--Warning that a proposal of the National Association of Home Builders to erect houses for Negro occupancy only "if suitable sites" can be found means the development of more ghettos, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, has urged U.S. Attorney General Herbert R. Brownell to take steps "to halt government participation in the practice of extending racial segregation in housing."

The Home Builders advanced this program at a Washington conference on minority group housing problems called by the government's Housing and Home Finance Agency, December 9-10. Members of the Builders Association agreed to aim for a goal of 10 per cent of all housing they developed for minority occupancy, provided "suitable sites" could be found. The NAACP was represented at the conference by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington Bureau, and Madison S. Jones, field secretary.

The NAACP representatives submitted proposals restricting government aid to housing, slum clearance and redevelopment programs only on the basis of occupancy and use without racial considerations of any kind. While these proposals were supported by the majority of representatives at the conference, they were strongly opposed by some of the business interests.

In his letter to the Attorney General, Mr. White recalled that the NAACP submitted a memorandum to the Department of Justice in July on "why the U.S. Government should withhold housing assistance in any form unless there is a guarantee that such housing will be open to all persons without regard to race."

NOV 7 1955

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FOR RELEASE: NOVEMBER 3, 1955

NAACP ASKS CLARIFICATION OF FBI POLICY IN KIDNAP CASES

November 3, 1955

NEW YORK, Nov. 3.--The NAACP has asked the FBI to clarify its policy on kidnap cases, in an effort to discover why the Federal body entered a kidnap case in New York this week after having asserted that it could not enter the August kidnap case of Emmett Till in Mississippi.

In a telegram on November 2 to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins pointed out that FBI action in the Till kidnapping "might have resulted in uncovering the evidence which subsequently apparently evaded local officials, thus torpedoing due process while seeming to satisfy same."

It was reported in New York newspapers that the FBI had entered the search for Stephen Damman, age three, missing in East Meadow, Nassau County, N.Y., because of suspicion of kidnapping. Later, it was reported in the press that the FBI in New York said it had not "actively" entered the case, although it was admitted that an FBI agent had been assigned to work with the Nassau police.

The NAACP message noted that 14-year-old Emmett Till "was kidnapped at gun point before several witnesses."

"His body was not discovered until three days later, yet during all that time the FBI did not make a move on presumption of kidnapping," the telegram recalled.

The NAACP, Mr. Wilkins said, "would like to inquire specifically why the FBI entered the Damman case in New York one day after disappearance of the boy and failed to enter the Till case in Mississippi although three days had passed since Till was known to have been kidnapped by armed men."

The Association's message also commented that Stephen Damman's father is an Air Force clerk at Mitchell Field, while Emmett Till's mother is an Air Force clerk in Chicago.

CONGRESS SHOULD INVESTIGATE MISSISSIPPI, SAYS JUDGE

November 3, 1955

MIAMI, Nov. 3.--The House Un-American Activities Committee should investigate the "irresponsible officials of the State of Mississippi" because "they are engaging in un-American practices," a New York judge declared here last week.

Addressing the annual conference of the Florida State NAACP, Judge Hubert T. Delany mentioned among Mississippi's "un-American" practices, racist terrorism, the denial of voting rights to Negroes, and the death of Emmett Till "who was brutally murdered in a manner that shocked the nation yet no one has been punished for this horrible crime."

The jurist suggested that the Federal Bureau of Investigation also undertake a "thorough investigation" of such "un-American" practices as southern terrorism based on race, and denial of the franchise in Mississippi.

He asserted that "terrorism in the South has greatly hurt our country's position as a world leader."

"It is up to high government officials to realize that they are not only responsible to the people but also to the ideals upon which this nation was founded," Judge Delany maintained.

"There is no place in America for first-class citizenship and second-class citizenship," he continued. "So long as terrorism exists in the South we must give full publicity to that terrorism and we must make effective plans to see that it is stopped. The NAACP is the only organization that is fighting day in and day out to protect the civil rights of the people."

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, the Association's Southeast Regional Secretary, also addressed the meeting, held Oct. 28 to 30.

Following his appearance in Miami on Oct. 29, Judge Delany spoke the next day in Columbus, Mississippi. He is a member of the NAACP board of directors.

NAACP SHIFTS $10,000 DEPOSIT TO AID SOUTH CAROLINA VICTIMS

November 3, 1955

NEW YORK, Nov. 3.--The deposit of $10,000 of the NAACP's reserve funds in the Negro-owned Victory Savings Bank of Columbia, S.C., was announced here this week by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In making the announcement, Mr. Wilkins said that the NAACP was shifting the sum from a New York bank in order to assist the Victory Savings Bank in expanding its lending facilities to help meet the needs of victims of the "economic squeeze" in South Carolina.

Previously, the Association had transferred $20,000 of its reserve funds to the Tri-State Bank of Memphis to help Mississippi victims of economic pressures. In response to urging by the NAACP, other organizations deposited nearly $200,000 in the Memphis bank for the same purpose.

ALASKA CALLED LAND OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

November 3, 1955

ANCHORAGE, Alaska, Nov. 3.--An Alaskan NAACP Coordinating Committee has been established here by Franklin H. Williams, the Association's West Coast secretary-counsel. The committee, under chairmanship of Mrs. Zora Banks of Fairbanks, will coordinate the NAACP program throughout the Territory.

Following a seven-day tour of major Alaskan communities, during which he established the committee, Mr. Williams called Alaska "truly a land of opportunity for all Americans who are seeking communities within which to pursue their professions or obtain employment opportunities."

"The Territory," he continued, "wants and can use many qualified Americans, regardless of color, to teach or provide professional or skilled services for its growing populace."

The NAACP singled out the Electrical Workers Union in Fairbanks and several other "major unions" as "the one area within which discrimination of a most vicious type continues."

SAN DIEGO NAACP RAISES QUOTA ON HOLIDAY SEALS

November 3, 1955

SAN DIEGO, Calif., Nov. 3.--The San Diego NAACP branch has set $1,000 as the quota for its 1955 Holiday Seal drive, it was announced here by Mrs. Ruth Green, president.

Mrs. Green said the NAACP unit has added $400 to the original quota because of "the drastically increased cost of fighting racial discrimination throughout the nation."

Proceeds from nationwide sales of Holiday Seals provide funds for local and national work of the Association.

UAW-CIO DONATES $5,000 TO NAACP

November 3, 1955

NEW YORK, Nov. 3.--The United Auto Workers, CIO, has contributed $5,000 to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, announced here today. The contribution was received by the Association this week.

Another large sum, of $6,000, was received by the Association during the past week, representing funds collected at an NAACP rally in Los Angeles, Calif. The money was sent in by the Los Angeles NAACP branch.

A letter signed by Walter P. Reuther, president of the UAW-CIO and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, accompanied the union's check.

Pointing to the Emmett Till lynching and "other violations of civil rights and civil liberties which have occurred in Mississippi in recent months," Mr. Reuther's letter declared: "In the months ahead, in view of the present developments, our country will be faced with perhaps the most critical period in its history in the field of civil rights and civil liberties."

Mr. Reuther said the UAW-CIO is donating the $5,000 "with the conviction that it will, in a measure, assist the NAACP in its courageous and untiring efforts toward the achievement of an America in which the civil rights and civil liberties of every individual will be secure."

The UAW-CIO international executive board on Oct. 30 issued a statement calling for prompt enactment of legislation at the opening of Congress to provide for immediate intervention by the U.S. Justice Department's criminal division in cases of civil rights violations.

The statement cited the recent murders of three Negroes in Mississippi, including 14-year-old Emmett Till, as "crimes against democracy and humanity," as well as "a denial of civil rights and civil liberties of Negroes."

The UAW board blasted Congress and the Administration for failure to act on civil rights, and announced that the international union will broaden its own civil rights program by enlarging the field staff of its fair practices and anti-discrimination department.

NAACP OFFICER TO SPEAK BEFORE PTA GROUP

November 3, 1955

NEW YORK, Nov. 3.--Judge Hubert T. Delany, a member of the NAACP board of directors, will address the Parent-Teacher Association of Joan of Arc high school here on Nov. 16. His subject will be, "The Adolescent and His Community."

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